L. 10. 70

THE ANTIQUITIES OF PALMYRA.

Containing the

HISTORY OF THE CITY, and its EMPERORS,

From its Foundation to the Present Time.

WITH

An APPENDIX of Critical Observations on the Names, Religion, and Government of the Country.

AND

A COMMENTARY on the Inscriptions lately found there.

LONDON,
Printed for *S. Smith* and *B. Walford*, Printers to the Royal Society, at the Princes-Arms in St. *Paul's* Church-Yard. 1696.

See 44.07

SOCIETATI REGIAE

In Collegio Greſhamenſi

Supremo Numini, & Laboranti Naturæ

Horas utiliſſimè impendenti,

Veræ Philoſophiæ inſtauratrici,

Mathematum, & politioris Litteraturæ

Arbitræ, & Sequeſtræ,

Eruditi orbis Delicijs,

Quam ambierunt Principum Maximi,

Venerantur, quotquot Muſis litarunt

Farraginem hanc

RERUM PALMYRENARUM

Αυτοσχεδιαζι exaratam

Summo, quo decet, cultu, & obſervantiâ

Lubens merito more majorum,

D. D. D. C. Q.

AB. SELLERUS.

THE PREFACE.

THE Learned World having been for ſome years in expectation of a Deſcription of the Antiquities of *Palmyra* from ſome accurate Traveller, whoſe Curioſity might prompt him to viſit thoſe Deſarts, that he might enrich *Europe* with the Rarities of that remote Province of the Eaſt, of which the World had had but a very obſcure, if any, account; ſome worthy Engliſh Merchants, purſuant to the Dictates of that nobler Genius, that actuates the generous Members of the *Levant* Company, overlookt all the Difficulties and Hazards, that accompany ſuch an Enterprize, and attempted the Diſcovery. And though the firſt Eſſay was not crown'd with ſo good Succeſs, as it deſerv'd, through the Treachery and Baſeneſs of the *Arab* Prince, who at that

time govern'd the Country; the ſecond Voyage was perform'd to the great Satisfaction of Mankind, and 'tis to their Munificence, that we owe thoſe Journals, which the *Royal Society* hath lately publiſht. Nor is this the only Inſtance, wherein thoſe eminent Merchants have been Benefactors to the Commonwealth of Letters; their Company conſiſting of Men of good Birth, and gentile Education, of liberal Fortunes, and as large Minds; and may their Succeſs in their worldly Affairs be ſuited to their great Deſerts, may they always flouriſh, and always be in a capacity to do worthy Actions.

To the jealous *Arabs* the Undertaking ſeem'd ridiculous, that prudent Men ſhould contract a great Expence only to tranſcribe a few imperfect Inſcriptions, and take a view of old Ruines, and perhaps there are ſome Cenſors who live nearer than the Deſarts of *Tadhmur*, who are of the ſame opinion; but the Men of Judgment in all Ages have entertained different Sentiments, and Providence ſeems to have been particularly concern'd in the Preſervation

of

of many Fragments of Antique Litterature. When * *Strabo* treats of *Olynthus*, and other Cities of *Greece*, *which had been utterly deſtroy'd before his time, inſomuch as whoſoever travel'd thoſe parts, might juſtly queſtion whither ever thoſe places had been inhabited*; he ſubjoins, *that the Curious and Inquiſitive were pleas'd to viſit thoſe Ruines, being deſirous to ſee the Theatres, where ſo many noble Actions had been perform'd, and to pay Homage to the Aſhes of thoſe Illuſtrious Perſons, who lay there buried*: (And what a Spirit of Emulation does it raiſe in every generous Soul to prompt him to ſublime Actions, when he views the Tombs, or hears the Story of the Heroes of former Ages?) And in the days of † *Lucian, when many Cities had been ſwallowed up of Earthquakes, or buried in the Sea, tho' Rivers themſelves had been loſt, and abſorpt, that they never more appear'd, yet the Tomb of* Inachus *was preſerv'd at* Argos, *a Memorial of the Atchievements of that firſt King of the* Morea.

* *L.2.p.121.*

† *In Charont.*

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Geographers, neither *Alferganus*, nor the Geographer commonly called the *Nubian*, neither *Naſſer Eddin* nor *Vlug Beig*, ſet out by our Learned Mr. *Greaves*; its Situation was very remote from both *Rome* and *Athens*, in the midſt of vaſt Deſarts, which deter'd the curious Traveller; and its Empire, and Glory were ſo ſhort-lived, that we cannot expect a large Deſcription of its State and Fortunes from the ancient Writers. But ſuch Memorials, as either they, or the later Hiſtorians have afforded, I have taken care to digeſt into method, and to offer them to the preſent Age. Had we *Domninus* the Hiſtorian of *Antioch*, who lived in the Neighbourhood, or *Philoſtratus* of *Athens*, or *Nicoſtratus* of *Trebizond*, who wrote the Hiſtory of thoſe times, particularly the Affairs of the Eaſt, it would have been no difficult Province to have given a more perfect account of that Country; or had we but that one Oration of the moſt accurate *Longinus*, which he wrote in praiſe of *Odænathus*, that no doubt would have furniſht a ſufficient ſtock of Materials toward the writing the Life of that Great

Great Man; but theſe are Bleſſings loſt to the World, and, I fear, paſt retrieving.

It may look like a bold, and daring Undertaking, to adventure to build a Large Structure with ſo few Materials; but I have been as careful in my accounts, as I was qualified to be, and according to my Underſtanding have confin'd my ſelf to the ſtrict Rules of Truth, and exactly followed my Vouchers, (whom for that reaſon I have cited in the Margin;) for he, who pretends to write Hiſtory without Authorities, may be ſaid to be Author of a Romance, or a Collector of Dreams, but can never be allowed to be a good Hiſtorian. And if I have been, as I take it for granted, miſtaken in any of my Conjectures, (as I have frequently taken that liberty, but no where, that I know of, without ſome grounds for my ſo doing) it is no wonder, and will be eaſily pardoned, when 'tis conſider'd, that even the Hiſtorians of that Country, and of the early Ages, knew not all the particulars of the *Palmyrene* Affairs; that *Theodorit* himſelf the Biſhop of *Cyrus*

rus in *Cyrrheſtica*, a Neighbouring Province, in leſs than two hundred years after the Reign of *Odænathus*, is ſo miſtaken, as to affirm, that *Zenobia* was conſtituted the Toparch of *Syria*, and *Phœnicia* by the *Perſians*, after they had routed the Romans, and that he, who digs in a dark Mine, may be allowed a little failure in his Work; and I ſhall thank any Learned Man, who ſhall correct my Errors, and ſet the Hiſtory in a better light.

I have dealt with my Reader, as I love to be treated my ſelf, having been always pleaſed with a full account of whatever is material on any ſubject, when profeſſly handled; and I have given my Authorities in the Margin, not to make a ſhow of much acquaintance with Books, but to inform the Reader that I have not impoſed on him, and to direct him where he may ſatisfy himſelf, if he doubts. I have uſed the words *Palmyra* and *Tadhmur* promiſcuouſly, becauſe, though the new name, whither impoſed by a Conqueror, or given for any other reaſon, prevail'd among the Greeks and Romans, yet the old Syriac name

name kept its Intereſt among the Natives, and has at this day recover'd an entire Poſſeſſion, as ſome other neighbouring Cities in that Country have done: So *Cæſarea* in *Paleſtine* is at preſent call'd, as of old, *Paneas*; and *Petra* in *Arabia*, is now named *Boſra*, to omit other Inſtances. For, as * *Ammianus Marcellinus* has well obſerv'd, *When* Seleucus Nicator *rebuilt many old Cities in* Syria, (among whom we may reckon *Palmyra*) *and gave them Strength and Riches, tho' many of them are ſtill called by the Greek Names, which their Founder* Seleucus *gave them; yet they did at the ſame time among the Natives retain their old Syrian Appellations, which their firſt Founders impoſed.* (Hence came it, that the new name of *Adrianople* given to *Palmyra*, was in a little time worn out; and tho' the Greeks called the Iſland of *Corſica* † *Cyrnus*, the Natives ſtill maintain'd the Intereſt of the true name, and it continues to this day; and tho' *Heraclea* was for a while called *Pliſtarchia*, in time it aſſerted its ancient Right, and was

* *Lib.* 14. *c.* 8. Seleucus Nicator urbes conſtruxit multis opibus firmas, & viribus, quarum ad præſens plereque licet Græcis nominibus appellentur, quæ iiſdem ad arbitrium impoſita ſunt conditoris, primogenita tamen nomina non amittunt, quæ ex Aſſyriâ linguâ inſtitutores veteres indiderunt.

† *Diod. Sic. l.* 5. *p.* 205.

Steph. π. πόλ. v. πλισ-σαχία.

was called as formerly, *Heraclea.*) And I heartily wiſh, that the Learned Men, who have viſited thoſe Oriental Countries had furniſht themſelves with Inſtruments, and ſpent ſome time in taking the exact Longitudes and Latitudes of the ſeveral Cities.

In the Chronological Accounts, I have followed the commonly receiv'd *Epochas*, and accordingly fixt my Series of Times, without entring into an overnice Examination of particular Diſputes in Chronology, which was not ſo conſonant to my preſent Subject, having fixt the year of the Creation according to the Computation of our moſt Learned Arch-biſhop *Uſher.* I have freely uſed the names of the Heathen Gods, (tho' for the moſt part with a diſtinguiſhing Epithet;) and beſides, the neceſſity of my Subject, which obliged me to it, I might plead the uſual practiſe in other Languages, that the Fathers did the ſame; and ſome of the antient Chriſtians, who went larger lengths than I ever durſt, witneſs that Epitaph in *Gruter* *, (*Jovis optimi maximi beneficio hic in ſpe reſurrectionis quieſcit*;) nor can I be perſwaded, that ſuch Studies are diſ-

* 1050.

agreeable

agreeable to my Profeſſion, (if any paſſage of that kind appears in the Hiſtory, I here renounce it, and may it be, as if it had never been ſaid or written) while the Learned *Syneſius* hath publiſht the Life of *Typhon*, and *Oſiris*, St. *Ambroſe*, (as 'tis ſaid) and *Palladius*, the Hiſtory of the *Brachmanes*, and *Nonnus*, beſides his Paraphraſe upon St. *John*, was the Author of the *Dionyſiaca*. Tho', after all, I muſt profeſs, I expect to be treated rudely by ſome ſowre Criticks; but having no private deſign in theſe Papers, I ſhall pleaſe my ſelf to be corrected by a Man of Senſe and Temper, and for the reſt of the Tribe, they are beneath Conſideration; it muſt be acknowledg'd, that a Treatiſe of this kind ought to have been written in the Learned Language, (as probably it may be hereafter;) but it was requiſite to publiſh the Commentary in the ſame Language with the Text, and that the Journals having been ſet forth in Engliſh, the Hiſtory ought to be written in the ſame Tongue; and had not a good part of my Papers, when finiſht, been unhappily loſt paſt retrieving, my Genius alſo nauſeating the Drudgery of doing the ſame thing

thing over again, I might perhaps have managed the Subject with more Accuracy. I have affirmed, that the *Saturns* and *Jupiters* of the Heathens were born after the days of *Job* and of *Joshua*, and herein I have followed the Fathers, particularly *Theophilus* of *Antioch*, (an excellent Chronologist, and who by that unanswerable Argument hath ruined all that was then said for the Eternity of the World, and of the Heathen Gods) who in one place of his excellent Work against *Autolycus*, (which for this reason is justly stiled by *Lactantius*, *liber de temporibus*) affirms, that *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto*, were much younger than the Creation; in a second, that *Jupiter* was much younger than *Moses*, and the Law; but more expresly in a third, that *Cronus* and *Belus*, *i. e.* *Saturn*, as *Thallus* says in his History, lived but 322 years before the *Trojan* War; whereas *Moses* lived 630 years before that famous *Epocha*. And the Chronologer *Petavius* proves, that when *Saturn* fled into *Italy*, driven out by his Son *Jupiter*, *Ehud* was then a Judge in *Israel*, about the year 1330 before Christ; and that from the time of *Janus*,

P. 258.

* L. 2. p. 58.

† L. 3. p. 258.

‖ P. 282.

nus, to whom *Saturn* fled, to *Æneas*, the whole was not 200 years.

The Arabick Authors, as well as the common People of the Country, are to this day poſſeſt with the Opinion, that *Tadmur* was built by *Solomon*, and that by the help of Spirits, as was alſo *Baalbec*, (ſays *Benjamin Tudelenſis*) the ſuperſtitious Jews and Arabs thinking it impoſſible that Art ſhould perfect a ſtupendous Building without the aſſiſtance of a familiar. If the City were deſtroy'd by *Nebuchadnezzar*, before he laid ſiege to *Jeruſalem*, as *John Malela* expreſly affirms, and in this account we may give him Credit, becauſe he was of that Country, and may be preſum'd, not to be ignorant of the Affairs of *Syria*) then it is not improbable, that *Seleucus Nicator*, the Founder of the Syrian Empire, rebuilt *Tadhmur*, as he did many other Cities; and that then, in honour to him, and compliance with both their Benefactor and Conqueror; they dated their publick Writings from the firſt year of his Empire, the *æra Seleucidarum*, as it is commonly ſtiled. The Situation of the City fitted it for a publick Mart, and the Cities *Alalis*, *Sura*, and *Alamata*, *Ptol. l. 5. c. 15.*

Alamata, being parts of *Palmyrene*, and built on the Banks of the *Euphrates*, may be preſumed the Ports, where they brought their Goods, either exported, or imported on that noble River, the Cities being ſubject to the Re-publick. Of what Bigneſs, and Capacity for carriage the River that did run by its Walls was, we know not, it having been many years ſince abſorpt. That there ran a River there in *Ptolemy*'s time, the Geogragrapher affirms expreſly, that many other Rivers have been loſt in Earthquakes, to which the Eaſtern Regions are very ſubject, no Man doubts; and ſome which yet continue to run, are ſoon buried: *Mela* avers, that a great River ariſes near *Corycus* in *Cilicia*; and having made a great noiſe, is immediately ſwallow'd, and diſappears; and the River that runs by *Aleppo*, is in a few hours afterward buried in the Sands.

L. 1. *c.* 13.

When the Romans began to enlarge their Conqueſts in *Syria*, I queſtion not but *Palmyra* was under the Juriſdiction of the Arabs; for when *Pompey the Great*, after the Death of the famous *Mithradates*, marcht againſt *Aretas* the King of the Arabs, (*Appian* calls him King of the

the *Nabatæan Arabs*) *ann. V. C.* 690. *ante Chriſtum* 63. his Kingdom reacht from the River *Euphrates* to the *Red Sea*, ſays *Dio*, (in which compaſs *Palmyra* muſt be included;) this *Aretas* was doubtleſs one of the *Al-Hariths* of the Arabians, who were Kings of *Geſſan*, and in later Ages Lords of *Tadhmur*. L. 36. After which time, I believe, it acknowledg'd the Roman Power, but was govern'd by its own Laws, having under its immediate Juriſdiction, beſides the three Cities on the River already mentioned, twelve more in the Inland of *Syria*. When *Trajan* made his glorious Expedition into *Perſia*, I conjecture, *Palmyra* was a Sufferer in the common Calamity of that Country, for *Pliny* ſays it was ſometime in the Roman, at others in the Parthian Intereſt, or elſe it would not have needed *Hadrian*'s aſſiſtance to rebuild, and beautify it; while other Cities taſted of *Trajan*'s Bounty, for from *Trajan*'s Expedition (in the 8th year of his Reign, of Chriſt 105.) the Inhabitants of *Bozra* and *Petra*, dated their Writings, ſays the Author of the *A-*

L. 3. p. 105. *Iexandrian* Chronicle: and *Zoſimus* affirms, that at *Zaragardia*, not far from the *Euphrates* on the Perſian ſide, in his time there ſtood a noble Throne built of ſtone, which the Natives called *Trajan's Throne*; erected, I doubt not, in memory of his illuſtrious Atchievements in that Country. But whatever *Palmyra* might have ſuffered under *Trajan*, was repair'd by his Succeſſor, who gave the City his own name, and they in Gratitude made Vows for his Recovery; not in the laſt, the 19th of his Reign, as thro' haſte is ſaid, (he reigned almoſt 22 years;) but in the ſeventeenth, from which Sickneſs he recover'd to dye afterwards in greater torment, (and this I mention here, that I may correct the Miſtake in the Hiſtory:) To this City *Septimius Severus* may alſo be preſumed a Benefactor, (to whom before his famous Expedition againſt the Parthians, when he routed *Niger*, with whom the Arabs, Parthians, and the Inhabitants of *Adiabene*, join'd their Forces) the Re-publick gave their aſſiſtance againſt the Allies of the Em-

F. 35, 36.

Spart. vit. Septim. p. 67.

pire,

pire, and adopted his name into their moſt eminent Families; after which time, till the Reign of *Zenobia*, I take them to have been in confederacy with, and ſubject to the Emperors; for they aſſiſted both *Alexander Severus* and *Gordian*, in their Expeditions into the Eaſt againſt the Perſians, as the Inſcriptions teſtify; only it looks probable, that upon the Captivity of *Valerian*, the Senate for a while diſſembled their Intereſts, and acknowledg'd the Power of *Sapores*. In the Battel at *Immæ*, where *Zenobia* was routed, *S. Hierom* affirms, that *Pompeianus* the *Frank* ſettled at *Antioch*, but the Family was unqueſtionably fixt in that Country long before; for when *Marcus* the Philoſopher undertook the German War, he married his Daughter to *Claudius Pompeianus*, who was of *Antioch*. This alſo I mention to correct another Miſtake. After the Captivity of *Zenobia*, the City was a Spectacle of pity; but being a neceſſary Frontier, was repair'd, and in *Dioclefian*'s time was the Seat of the Governor of the Province. In

Capitol. Marcus.

the days of *Constantius*, the Inhabitants were noted, as now, for great
P. 8. Robbers, says the old Geographer, set out by *Gothofred*, and govern'd by Women; but that I take for granted is an Error, as if, when *Zenobia* had begun to wield a Scepter, none but her own Sex in that Country durst pre-
Malel. part 2. *f.* 39. tend to command. *Theodosius the Great* divided *Libanesia* from the Sea-coast of *Phœnicia*, and made it a distinct Province, *Emesa* being the Metropolis, under whose Jurisdiction *Palmyra* was put, and so continued, when the Followers of *Mahomet* had made themselves Masters of that Country, and for many Centuries after; for in *Abulfedas's* time, above 1300 after Christ, *Tadhmur* acknowledg'd *Hems*, (*Emesa*) its Metropolis, and probably it was so after his time. In the Reign of the
* *P.* 28. *ed. Gron.* same *Theodosius*, (if * *Ethicus*, or whoever goes under that name, lived in those days) or before (for St. *Hierome* is said to have translated him) *Palmyra* is reckoned among the famous Towns of the East; as it is also by
† *P.* 8. † *Julius Honorius*, who lived before *Theo-*

Theodoric; for *Caſſiodore* mentions him, (*Palmira damaſcus*, read *Palmyra, Damaſcus*,) and the Author of the *Alexandrian* Chronicon among the famous Cities of the fourth Climate, reckons *Palmyra*, with *Apamea*, *Emeſa*, &c. in *Cœle Syria*. In *Juſtinian*'s time it became the Reſidence of the Governor of the Eaſt, and ſubject to the *Conſtantinopolitan* Empire, but 'tis probable did not continue long in that State; for about the year of Chriſt 640. when *Heraclius* was Emperor, *Jabalah* the Son of *Al Iham* was King of *Gaſſan*, and Lord of *Tadhmur*, (perhaps a Tributary to *Heraclius*) who being overcome by *Omar* the Caliph, one of *Mahomet*'s Succeſſors, ſubmitted, and turn'd Mahometan; but, repenting, he afterward went to *Conſtantinople*, and became a Chriſtian; and at this time, I believe, Mahometaniſm ſettled it ſelf at *Tadhmur*, the Tribe of *Gaſſan* being before thoſe days Chriſtian. *Pococ. not. in Specim. hiſt. Ar. p.* 77, 136.

I ſhall not particularly undertake to demonſtrate the Uſefulneſs of Coins and Inſcriptions, the Learned World

hath been already fully convinc'd of that truth; how many difficult, and obſcure Paſſages in Chronology have been ſet in their due light, how many Series of Kings have been regularly deduc't, what Rites and Cuſtoms both ſacred and civil have been by thoſe helps diſcover'd, needs no further proof; though were there nothing elſe at *Palmyra* to be ſeen, but the noble Ruines of the Temples and Palaces, built according to the beſt and boldeſt Rules of the ancient Architecture, I ſhould think a Journey thither on that Errand alone worth the Undertaking. And though the oldeſt of the *Palmyrene* Inſcriptions is a hundred years younger than our bleſſed Saviour's Incarnation (as I have made appear in the Commentary) yet they are not ſo contemptible as ſome have imagin'd, but afford us ſome Memorials of thoſe times, which no where elſe occur. And by the ſame Argument, (the uſe of the Greek ϵ, which appears not till about *Domitian*'s time) by which I poſtpone the oldeſt Inſcription at *Tadhmur* a hundred

dred years, may we prove the Spuriouſneſs of that Table preſerv'd at *Rome*, which is reported to contain the very Title, which by *Pilate*'s Order was affixt to the Croſs of our Lord, for therein Ναζαρενων is written with the ſame ſort of ϵ.

It muſt be confeſt, that in the *Palmyrene* Inſcriptions are ſome peculiar words, which occur not in the *Lexica*, as ταρσίων, Ουεξιλλατίων, &c.) of which ſort there are more in other old Marbles; nor is it any wonder, that in a remote part of *Syria*, where a different Language was ſpoken, the Greek ſhould not be ſo pure, as at *Athens*; and in ſuch caſes a Critick is left to his own Judgment: nor is it a Diſreputation to his Fidelity, or acumen, if he happen to wander, where he has no Guide.

Pric. in Apul. Apolog. p. 67. *De fœdere Hierapytniorum, & Prianſenſ.* ſciunt doctiores uſquequo huc progredi licet, ſcripta hoc genus non intra Lexicorum ſepta coercenda: ſatisq; de Interpretis fide, ac judicio conſtare, qui ſciet, ubi legem ſequi, ubi dare oporteat.

The Uſefulneſs of the Journals and Hiſtory will never be controverted,

when 'tis conſider'd, that they give us the account of a Country, hardly before known to the preſent Age, and of many Rites and Cermonies, which the European World counts ridiculous, but will appear very ancient and defenſible; for no Nation under Heaven hath been ſo tenacious of old Uſages, as the Orientals. Of which I ſhall give a few inſtances.

That the Arabs ſhould ſuſpect the Europeans, that in thoſe Ruines, among ſo many Sepulchres, they ſhould ſeek for Treaſures, is no wonder to me, ſince it was very uſual under the Foundations of all magnificent Structures to bury great Sums of Money, probably that the Coin, when the Building was ruinous, might diſcover the Founder, Taliſmans alſo being ſet up in ſeveral places to direct the curious Enquirer. Thus * *Rhodanes* found a great quantity of Gold by the Directions of a Pillar, upon which was pourtrayed a Lyon; and a like Story is related in the Life of *Æſop*: And in *David*'s Tomb, *Joſephus* ſays, the High-

* *Jamblic. ap. Phot. cod.* 94.

High-Priest *Hyrcanus* found a vast Treasure; but the Author of the * *Alexandrian* Chronicle avers, that it was *Hezekiah*, who first open'd the Tomb to show the Riches of his Ancestors to the King of *Babylon*'s Ambassadors, and that for profaning the Ashes of his Fathers, God devoted his Posterity to Captivity. * P. 364.

That they should account a young Camel drest a noble Feast, will cease to be a Subject of wonder or diversion, when we remember, that Custom is the Judge of good or coarse Meats, that every Nation, even in the civiliz'd parts of *Europe*, differ in their Notions of preferable Dishes, and that a Treat of the best things the Country affords ought to be reckon'd a Feast. To which we may add, that their Ancestors lived on the same fare; that † *Strabo* calls the Arabs of his time *Camel-eaters*; that ‖ St. *Hierome* avers, that the Arabs and Saracens, and all other the barbarous Inhabitants of the Desart, lived upon the Milk and Flesh of

† *L.* 16. *p.* 767.
‖ *Adv. Jovin. l.* 2. *c.* 6.

of their Camels, (and ſo ſays *Abulfarajus*) that both * *Ariſtotle* and † *Pliny* reckon the Fleſh, and the Milk of Camels, not only among the wholeſome, but among delicious Meats; and that ‖ *Herodotus* affirms, that the Perſians of quality on their Birthdays, (which was a ſolemn Feſtival among them) among other Diſhes, treated their Friends with a whole Oxe, and a whole Camel dreſt; that * *Antiphanes* ſays, that a Camel ſerv'd up hot was a Feaſt for a King; and that the Emperor † *Elagabalus* (who was a Native of that part of *Syria*, where the *Emir*, who treated the Engliſh Merchants, lived) in imitation of *Apicius* (who was no contemptible Judge of luxurious Eating, having ſpent a fair Eſtate in the Gratifications of his Palate, and being ſince his Death quoted as an Author for all the Varieties of the old Cookery) uſed to eat the feet of Camels, as an extraordinary Diſh; and when he would appear magnificent, cauſed to be brought in at Supper entire Camels

* *Hiſt. animal. l. 6. c. 26.*

† 11. 41.

‖ *In Clio.*

* *Apud. Athen. l. 4.*

† *Lamprid.* p. 108.

Camels for the Service of his Friends.

Pilaw (or Rice) is another Diſh among the Arabs, as alſo among the Perſians, Indians and Turks, and ſo it was of old, ſays * *Strabo*. The Arabs of this Age live as their Anceſtors, who wandred up and down with their Families, and Cattel, and fixt for a while, where-ever they found Water for themſelves, and Graſs for their Herds; their Tents are now, as of old, made of Camels Hair, (the Camel is in truth the moſt uſeful of Animals to them; the Fleſh is their Meat, the Milk their Drink, their Tents are made of their Hair, their Carriage is upon Camels, and their Riches a numerous Herd of them) they marry as many Wives as they are able to maintain; generally hate Drunkenneſs, and avoid it as the Plague; never make Water ſtanding, nor eaſe nature, but in a place of great Privacy; and thoſe, who are military Men, ſit arm'd at the Table, and never put off their Scimitars till they

* *Lib.* 15.

Am. Marcellin. l. 23. *c.* 6.

they go to bed; all which Cuſtoms *Ammianus* obſerv'd were practis'd among the old Inhabitants of thoſe Countries. They meaſure their Journies, not by leagues or miles, but by hours and days, as the old Syrians did; impaleing is a Puniſhment uſual to this day, and the Criminal is forc't to carry his Stake to the place of Execution, as the Perſon to be crucified anciently carried his Croſs. The Cuſtom of putting the whole Family to Death for the Offence of the Chief of it, (of notorious and hainous, as the Murder of their Prince, or the like) is not quite diſus'd to this day in *Perſia*; and as *Valerian*, and others were flead alive, ſo was *Marc Antonio Bragadini*, the *Venetian* Governor of *Famaguſta*, tortur'd by the Turks, when *Cyprus* was taken; his Skin being ſalted and ſtuft, according to the old Perſian Method. And as the ſame *Valerian*, clad in his Royal Purple, with his Back lifted *Sapores* into the Saddle; ſo was *Bajazet* forc't to aſſiſt *Tamerlane*, when he mounted.

The

The Men of Condition uſed of old to ride with a Banner, and ſo they continue to do to this day. A Preſent of one or more Changes of Raiment was a Mark of Favour among the Ægyptians, Jews and Syrians, as long ſince as the days of the Patriarch *Joſeph*; and the Habit (the *Calaat*) ſent by the Grand Seignior, or the King of *Perſia*, to any Subject or Foreigner, is now one of the higheſt Inſtances of Royal Bounty.

In the Monuments of their Dead the Perſians of former Ages placed *Magi* to keep the Tomb; and in this preſent Age the Mahometans give a Maintenance to a greater or leſs number of *Moullah's*, who read the Law in the *Moſchees*, and take care of the Sepulchres, where their Princes are interr'd. And as of old they hired their Women Mourners to make a ſolemn Lamentation at Funerals, ſo now the Jewiſh Women are hired for the ſame purpoſe. I ſhall add no more, but that at *Aleppo*, (as my worthy Friend Mr.

Arrian. l. 6. expedit. Alex. p. 144

Mr. *Aaron Goodyear* informs me, to whom I profeſs my ſelf indebted for many uſeful Notices) in the Month of *June* the Women go to the River, and with ſolemn Sorrow bewaile *Tammuz*, and afterward make themſelves very merry; which is no other, than the practice of one of the oldeſt Superſtitions in the World, of which I ſhall treat at large.

Apollodor. Bibliot. l. 3. c. 13. The Heathen Mythologiſts affirm, that *Cinyras* the Aſſyrian founded the City of *Paphos* in the Iſland of *Cyprus*; where, having married the Daughter of the King of that Country, he begat *Oxyporus* and *Adonis*; that *Adonis* was very beautiful, and beloved by *Venus*, when an Infant, who, that he might be bred carefully, ſent him to *Proſerpina* to be educated; but when ſhe came to demand him, *Proſerpina* refus'd to deliver her Charge; whereupon the Controverſy was decided by *Jupiter*, that the Youth ſhould ſtay a third part of the year with *Proſerpina*, another third with *Venus*, and the remainder

mainder ſhould be at his own Diſpoſal. But *Adonis* being pleas'd with the Charms of Beauty, choſe to ſpend two thirds of his time with *Venus*, who paſſionately loved him; for which reaſon *Diana* being diſpleas'd with him, ſent a wild Boar to aſſault him, by whoſe Teeth he fell a Sacrifice to her Indignation. But others tell the Story differently, that *Cinyras* lay with his own Daughter *Myrrha*, on whom he begat *Adonis*; but, being aſham'd of his Inceſt, expos'd the Infant on the top of the Mountains, where the Nymphs nurſt and kept him, till he grew a moſt beautiful Youth, ſpending moſt of his time in his Sports; at which Age *Venus* ſeeing him, fell violently in love with him, and choſe him her Gallant; that this created Jealouſy in *Mars*, who turn'd himſelf into the ſhape of a wild Boar, and ſlew him; which, when *Venus* heard of, ſhe gave her ſelf up to the extravagant Sallies of an ungovernable Grief, and at laſt reſolv'd to follow him into the Shades to demand him there; but

Vid. Cyril. in Iſ. l. 2. tom. 3. p. 274.

but *Proſerpina* refuſing to deliver him, they comprimis'd the Affair, that he ſhould be half the year in the inferior World, and the other half in this; upon which *Venus* return'd very joyful, and having inform'd her Followers of the Agreement, they inſtituted a ſolemn Feſtival, which was continued to be celebrated with all the Demonſtrations of publick Exultation.

Plutarc. de Iſid. & Oſirid.

This Story, with a little Variation, the Ægyptian Writers (from whom the Aſiaticks deriv'd moſt of their Superſtitious Rites and Obſervances) tell us, under the name of *Oſiris*, whom *Typhon* nailed up in a Cheſt, (or Coffin) which he threw into the *Nile*, that it might be ſwallowed up of the Sea; that *Iſis*, as ſoon as ſhe heard of it, immediately went upon the ſearch of *Oſiris*, inquiring of all ſhe met, till at laſt ſome Children inform'd her, what *Typhon* had done; whereupon, taking *Anubis* with her, ſhe ſailed down the River, and through the Ocean, till ſhe came to *Byblus* in *Syria*,

ria, where ſhe found the Ark (or Coffin) reſting upon a Sprig of Heath, which ſhe carried with her into the Ship, and ſo return'd to *Egypt*, and there hid the Coffin at *Butus*, where her Son *Orus* was nurſt; that *Typhon* hunting in thoſe parts by the Light of the Moon, which was then at full, found the Coffin, and cutting the Body into fourteen pieces ſcatter'd it up and down in ſeveral places; whereupon *Iſis* hearing of the Fact, ſailed up and down the Marches in a Boat of Reeds, till ſhe had gather'd up the ſcatter'd Limbs, which ſhe buried in divers places, to prevent any further Attempts of *Typhon*, and to create *Oſiris* greater honour. In the Ægyptian Month *Athyr*, they ſay, *Oſiris* was ſlain; and on the ſeventeenth of their Month *Tybi*, *Iſis* return'd from *Byblus*, having ſpent almoſt two Months in the ſearch. From this Original came the practice of the Ægyptian Prieſts, who upon the firſt of thoſe Anniverſaries pretended, that the Body of *Oſiris* was hid in their

Temples, where, no one knew, whereupon they lamented him, as if that had been the very day, wherein he was murther'd by *Typhon*; they ſhav'd, and made bald their Heads, (the Cuſtom of ſuch, as were in the deepeſt Mourning) they thumpt their Breaſts, they wandred up and down the Streets making heavy Lamentations, (in imitation of the Mournings, and Peregrinations of *Iſis*;) and if there happen'd to be any of the Inhabitants of *Caria* at that time in *Ægypt*, they ſlaſht their Faces with Knives and Lancets, (as the Prieſts of *Baal* uſed to do, when their Idol would not anſwer them;) they cut their Arms, and very often made Inciſions into the Wounds of the laſt year, not quite healed: And after they had done this for ſome time, (*Plutarch* ſays, for 4 days) they pretended to find the Body, which they had been ſo earneſtly looking for; and on the nineteenth day of the Month *Athyr*, when it was night the Prieſts made their Proceſſion to the River

V. Herodot. Euterp. Jul. Firmic. Lucian. de Deâ Syr. Cyril. & Procop. in Iſai. 18. &c.

River with an Ark of Gold cover'd with the holy Stole; upon which, as ſoon as they had poured Water, the By-ſtanders cried out, (εὑρήκαμεν, συγχαίρομεν) *we have found him, let us turn our Lamentations into Joy:* After this they return'd and made merry, treating themſelves with Cakes, whereon they ſtampt the Figure of a Seahorſe, *i. e. Typhon*; and at the ſame time they wrote an Epiſtle to the Women of *Byblus*, that *Adonis* was found, (for he, whom the Ægyptians called *Oſiris*, the Phœnicians and Syrians named *Thammuz*, ſays St. *Hierome*, and *Adonis*, ſays *Cyril* and *Procopius*;) this Epiſtle they put into an Earthen Pot, ſay the above-named Fathers, (κεραμὸν, *Lucian* calls it κεραλλὴν βιβλίνην;) the Jews ſay, 'twas an Ark, or little Ship made of Reeds or Paper, which, after the performance of ſome (probably Magical) Rites, they ſeal'd and committed to the Waves, and of its own accord in ſeven days time it was carried by the Winds to *Byblus*, but never to any other place on the Sea-

coaſt of *Phœnicia*: And when the Women of that City received it, they put an end to their Lamentations, and begun their joyful Feſtival with Dances, and ſolemn Feaſting. As the preciſe time of the beginning the Feſtival at *Byblus* commenc't from the hour, in which they receiv'd the Epiſtle from *Ægypt*; ſo the exact time to begin the Mourning was fixt, ſays *Lucian*, by another extraordinary Circumſtance; the River *Adonis* at that ſeaſon, from its riſe on the ſide of Mount *Libanus*, to its fall into the Sea, being all bloody, the Sea it ſelf alſo for a conſiderable ſpace being diſcolour'd with the ſame, (the Natives believing that at that time *Adonis* was actually ſlain on the Mountain, and that his Blood alter'd the Colour both of the River and the Ocean) though one of the more inquiſitive *Byblians* told *Lucian*, that the bloody face of the Waters proceeded from a reddiſh ſort of Earth, which the ſtrong Winds, that at that time uſed to blow, brought down into the River, and gave the Streams

Streams their Tincture. At this time the Woman began their Mourning, (having firſt offer'd the Sacrifices of the Dead to *Adonis*, as the Ægyptians uſed to do) and ſhaved their Heads, (which, whoever refus'd to do, was by way of Penance obliged for a whole day to proſtitute her ſelf to all Strangers, and whatever ſhe got, was to be ſpent in a Sacrifice to *Venus*) their Lamentations, ſays * *Ammianus Marcellinus* being as extravagant, as thoſe of a Mother for an only Son.

* L. 19.

The Epiſtles ſent from *Alexandria* to give notice, that *Oſiris* or *Adonis* was found, are mention'd, ſay the Fathers, by the Prophet *Iſaiah*, 18. 2. *Wo to the Land that ſends their Ambaſſadors by the Sea in Veſſels of Bull-ruſhes upon the water*; or, as the Septuagint more pertinently, Οὐαὶ γῆς πλοίων πτέρυγες — ὁ ἀποστέλλων ἐν θαλάσσῃ ὄμηρα, καὶ ἐπιστολὰς βιβλίνας ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος) and the mournful Solemnity by the Prophet *Ezekiel*, 8. 14.

who among the abominable Idolatries of the People of the Jews, mentions *the Womens weeping for* Thammûz: For from *Ægypt* the Superstition spread it self over all the neighbouring Countries, over *Phænicia*, *Syria*, and *Cyprus*; who challeng'd the mock Deity for their own; nor did the peculiar People of God, the Israelites, escape the Infection, but they also fell into the same Madness.

Cyril. in Is. Ιυ. διερμηνεύεται δ' ὁ Θαμμοὺζ ὁ Αδωνις; *ità & Procop. in loc. & Theodorit, in Ezek.* 8. *Hieron. ib. Stephan.* π. πόλ. Αμαθοῦς πόλις Κύπρου ἀρχαιοτάτη, ἐν ᾗ Αδωνις Οσιρις ἐτιμᾶτο. ὃν Αιγύπτιον ὄντα Κύπριοι, καὶ φοίνικες ἰδιοποιοῦνται. *Procop. ubi supr.* τῶν τοιούτων ὀργίων καὶ Ιουδαῖοι δυσσεβοῦντες μετέλαβον.

The old Arabian *Zabii*, says *Ben Maimon*, affirm, that in that night in which *Thammûz* was slain, all the Idols that were in the World, met at *Babylon* in the Temple of the Sun, who related to them what had befall'n *Thammûz*; whereupon the Images wept, and lamented all night, and the next Morning every one of them flew back

back to his old ſtation: From whence, ſays he, came the Cuſtom of Mourning early in the Morning over *Thammûz*, in the Month called by his name: the Month *Thammûz*, ſays St. *Hierome*, anſwers to our *June*; and the Jewiſh Aſtronomers call the Sun's entrance into *Cancer*, *Thekupha Thammuz*, the Revolution or Period of *Thammuz*. The whole Feaſt was called by the Greeks, Ἀδώνια, or Ἀδωνιασμὸς; the Death of the mock God Ἀφανισμὸς, the Search after him Ζήτησις, the find-him Εὕρησις. The Feſtivals having a place in the old Kalendar; in which we find *Iſid. Aavigium*, not *Lavatio*, as *Vrſinus* reads it, but *navigium*, as it ought to be read; and in another Month *Heurifis*. The whole had its Mythological Moral; for by *Adonis*, *Oſiris*, and *Thammuz*, was meant the Sun, who when the Summer Solſtice was paſt, moving backward toward the South, ſeemed to have deprived the Northern Hemiſphere of his Preſence, and Influences.

Gruter, 138, 139.

V. Macrob. Saturnal. l. 1. *c.* 21.

*L. 2. c. 4. l. 4. c. 14. * *Julius Pollux* ſays, that the Inhabitants of *Phœnicia* called *Adonis*, *Gingras*, probably from the name of a Pipe, made of the Bone of a Gooſe-leg, which they uſed in his Solemnity, which made a very melancholy, and ſorrowful Muſick; and they had a Dance called by the ſame name in remembrance of the firſt Inventor of Husbandry, who died in the Summer-time, as he was hunting, and who is honour'd yearly with a mournful Song by the Farmers of the Country, (who at that time uſed to ſow their Wheat and Barley in the Fields near the Cities, ſays the Scholiaſt on *Therocritus*) accompanied by as doleful Inſtrumental Muſick. The Cuſtom ſtill in uſe at *Aleppo* of frequenting the River at this Feſtival, I preſume had its Original alſo in *Ægypt*, where the Inhabitants paid a peculiar Veneration to the Waters of *Nilus*, as St. *Athanaſius*, who was born there, affirms; and *Lactantius* adds, that they worſhipt the River yearly, becauſe there *Iſis* begun her ſearch of *Oſiris*.

That

That all this Pomp was older than the Jewiſh Captivity, the holy Writ avers; it laſted to the days of *Plutarch*, and the Aſtronomer *Ptolomee*, who mention it; (as do almoſt all the old Apologiſts for Chriſtianity:) *Julius Pollux* enumerates the Ceremonies of the Mourning in the Reign of *Commodus*; and *Lucian* avers, that he ſaw one of thoſe little Arks that brought the Letter from *Alexandria* floating into the Harbour, while he was at *Byblus*; the practice continued in *Ægypt*, when *Cyril* was Patriarch there, about the year 440 after Chriſt, and in *Phœnicia* in the times of *Procopius* of *Gaza*, who lived above a 100 years after *Cyril*; and to this day is in uſe at *Aleppo*, as my honoured Friend informs me, and probably in ſome other Cities of that Country.

I thought it neceſſary to make this Digreſſion, which is not diſagreeable to my Subject; and if the Reader (whom I earneſtly deſire to correct the

the Errata, before he begins the Book) find any advantage by the Undertaking, I ſhall not think my time ill employ'd.

The

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A View o

The Temple now inhabited.

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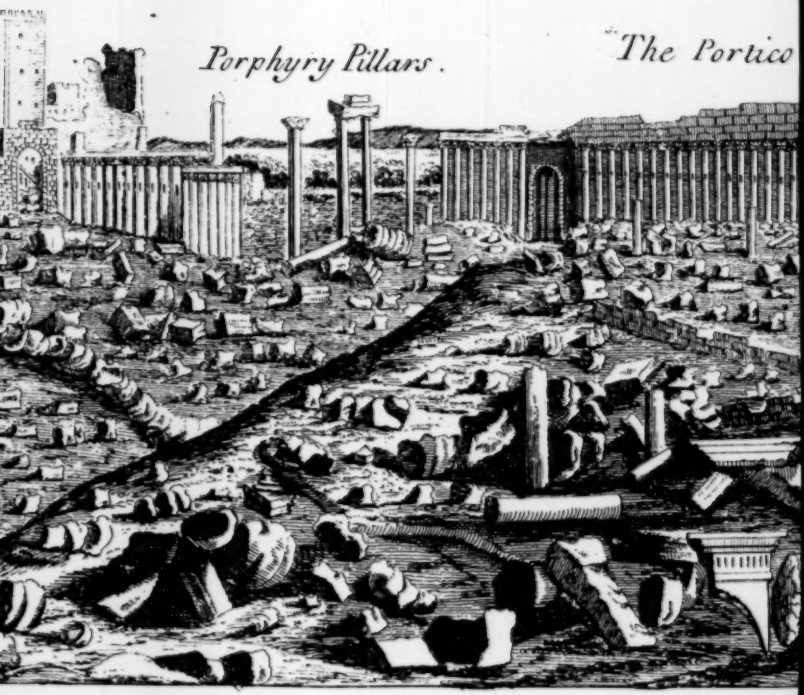

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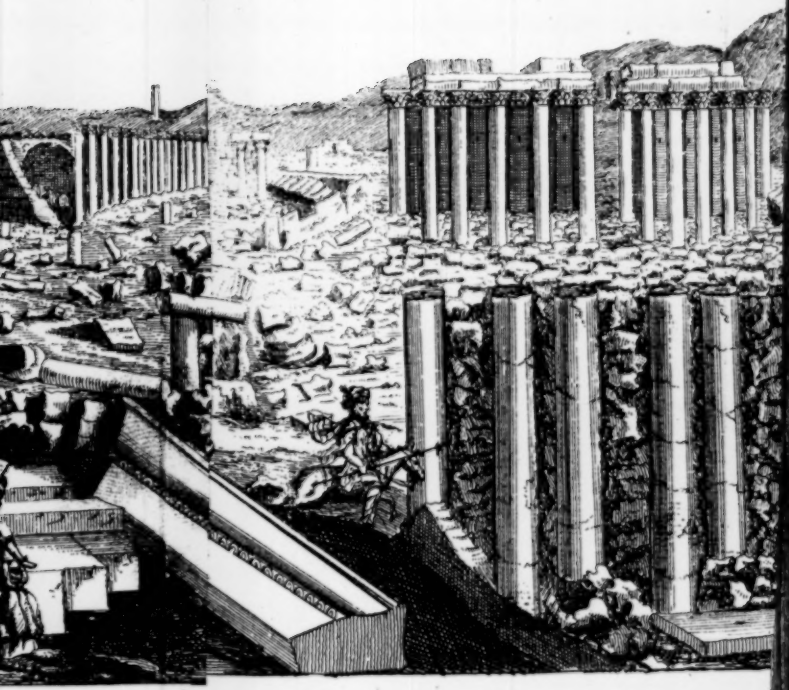

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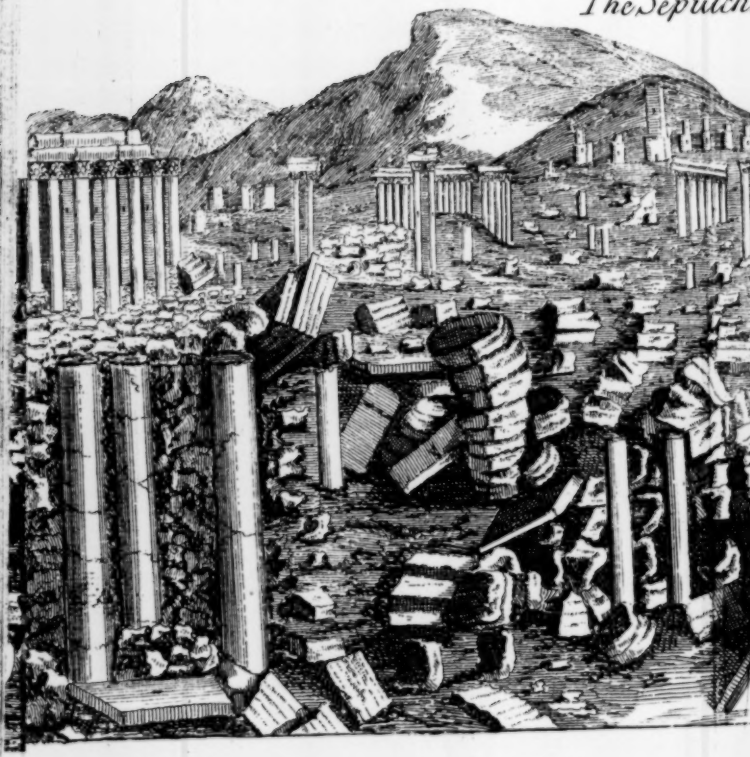

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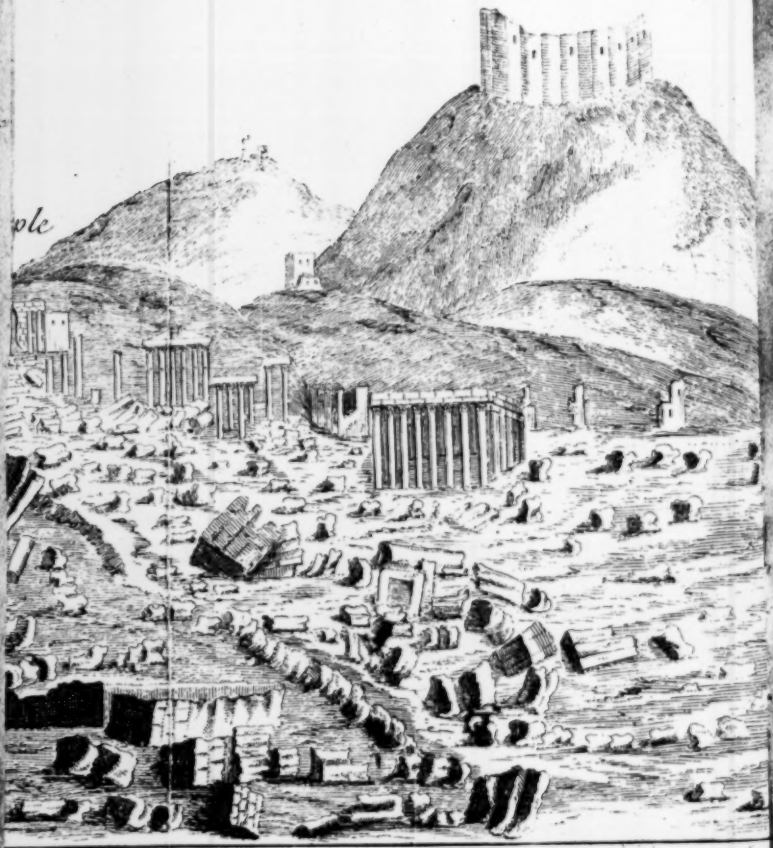

THE HISTORY OF Palmyra.

HISTORIES of Remote Countries, and Strange Revolutions, have been always entertained with Reſpect: And the pleaſure of Seeing at ſo great a Diſtance, and Hearing of diſmal Cataſtrophe's, wherein we have no other immediate ſhare, but that of Wonder and Pity, is not to be reckon'd among the meaneſt Satisfactions of a Wiſe Man's Life; ſince every Turn of Providence in a Foreign Nation, every new Scene of Proſperity or Adverſity is a Leſſon to the reſt of the World: And

the beſt Rules of Behaviour both for a publick and private Capacity, are deducible from ſuch remarkable Occurrences.

And among all the great Revolutions that have call'd for the Aſtoniſhment and Commiſeration of Mankind, the ſeveral Fortunes of *Palmyra* are not the leaſt remarkable; a Country far diſtant from our Region, diſtinguiſht by Nature from the reſt of the World by a ſeparate Situation; and an Empire, that in the ſpace of Ten Years over-ran all the *Eaſt*, baffled the Forces of the *Perſians*, ſubdued *Egypt*, and made all *Aſia* to the *Helleſpont* tremble; But in a few Months afterward was ſtript of all its Grandeur, and by degrees reduced to the loweſt ſtate of Poverty, as it is this day. Of this Country I intend to treat, of its Founder, and Antiquity; its Situation, and Plenty; its Government Eccleſiaſtical and Civil; and its ſeveral Fortunes and Conditions, as far as my Reading will aſſiſt me, till ſome more able Critick ſhall undertake the Task; and I ſhall begin with ſuch an Account of the Place as the Antients furniſh us with.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

WHen *Solomon* had finiſht his ſtupendious *Temple* at *Jeruſalem* (which better deſerv'd to be reckon'd among the *World's Wonders*, than that at *Epheſus*,) and the Noble Palace which he built for himſelf, in the Twentieth Year of his Reign he made War againſt *Hamath-Zobah*, which had been ſubdued by *David*, but revolted; and having conquer'd it, he built *Tadmor* in the Wilderneſs, the *Upper* and *Nether Bethhoron*, *Baalath*, and all the Store-Cities, which he ſtrongly fortify'd with Walls, and Gates, and Bars; they being his Frontier Towns, and the Limits of his vaſt Empire: For *he reign'd over all the Kings from the River* (Euphrates) *to the Land of the Philiſtines, and to the Border of Egypt. From Tiphſac even to Azzah: i. e.* from *Gaza* to *Thapſachus*, which Was one of the Paſſes over the *Euphrates*.

1 King. 9. 10, 18. 2 Chron. 8. 3, 4.

2 Chron. 9. 26.

1 King. 4. 24.

The *Arabick* Tranſlator of 2 *Chron.* 8. 3. implies, that *Tadmor* was a City before *Solomon*'s time, and that he only re-

edified it; that it was a Metropolis of old, as it was in the latter times, and had many Towns under its Juriſdiction: nor is it altogether improbable, thoſe Parts of the World near the Place where the Ark reſted after the Deluge ceas'd, being firſt peopled. The Arabick Hiſtorian * *Abulfarajus*, ſays, That *Solomon*, in the Twenty fourth Year of his Reign, having deſtroy'd the City of *Antioch*, built ſeven Cities in its ſtead, of which *Tadmor* was one. But the Fabulous Hiſtorian of *Antioch*, † *John Matela*, averrs, That the Foundations of *Palmyra* were lay'd in the ſame place in which *David* ſlew *Goliah*, and cut off his Head with his own Sword; and that King *Solomon*, in Memory of this great Victory, built a Noble City there, and, from the Fate of the Giant, call'd it *Palmyra*. While || *Joſephus* thus informs us, That *Solomon*, after he had built *Gazara*, which *Pharoah*, having taken it from the *Philiſtines*, gave to his Daughter, not far from it built two Cities, *Betachora*, and *Baleth*, with other Places, to which he might retire for his Pleaſure, that he might enjoy a temperate Air, excellent

* *Verſ Poc.* p. 53.

† *Par.* 1. p. 185. & *Par.* 2. p. 152.

|| *Antiq.* l. 8. c. 2.

lent Fruits, and pleaſant Streams: From whence he paſt into the Deſart above *Syria*, and making himſelf Maſter of it, lay'd the Foundations of a great City (which * he beautified with extraordinary Buildings) two Days Journey from the *Upper Syria*, and one from *Euphrates*, but from *Babylon* ſix Days Journey. And the reaſon why he built this City ſo far from the inhabited Places of *Syria*, was, that in the Upper Parts there was no Water, but in that Place only there were Fountains and Wells (as it appears by the *Peutinger* Tables, that near it ſtood the *Centum Putei.*) (*a*) When therefore he had built the City, and fenced it with ſtrong Walls, he named it *Tadmor*, as it is now called by the *Syrians*, while the *Greeks* call it *Palmyra*.

* *Hier.* in *Ezek.* 47.

(*a*) Concerning the Names *Tadhmur*, and *Palmyra*, conſult the *Appendix*.

CHAP. II.

FRom its *Founder* and *Name*, I ſhall proceed to conſider its *Situation* and *Plenty*. As to its Situation, from the Deſcription that *Joſephus* gives of it, it is plain, that, though it ſtood in a Deſart Country, it was a very Fertile Spot of Ground, the Air being very moderate and healthy: For when * *Longinus* invites his Friend *Porphyry* thither, he encourages him to undertake the Journey, upon two Accounts; firſt, That they might renew their old Friendſhip; ſecondly, That he might recover his broken Health, by the excellency of the Air of *Palmyra*.

* *Epiſt. ad Porph.*

† *Ptolemy* places it Eaſt from *Alexandria*; (in the ſame Climate with *Antioch*, *Seleucia*, *Hierapolis*, *Emeſa*, and other Cities of *Alexandria*, ſays the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicon*,) in the Longit. of 71 *deg.* 30 *min.* and the Latit. of 34 *deg.* the Longeſt Day being there above 14 Hours.

† *Lib.* 8. *p.* 205.

Chron. Alex. p. 82.

The firſt Inhabitants of *Tadmur*, I conjecture, were the Sons of *Abraham* by

by *Keturah*; for they are ſaid to be ſent by their Father into the Eaſt, *Gen.* 25. 6. *i. e.* into the Eaſt from *Jeruſalem*, and the *Land of Canaan*, into the Deſarts of *Arabia*, and the Countries bordering on the *Euphrates*, whoſe Inhabitants are called, in Holy Writ, *The Children of the Eaſt*; and were, for that reaſon alſo, call'd *Saracens*, that is, *Orientals*, or *Eaſterlings*, (as our moſt Learned *Pocock* affirms.) Now the *Saracens* are ſaid by * *Amm. Marcellinus*, to be the *Arabes Scenitæ* (though *Pliny* and *Ptolomy* diſtinguiſh them) to whom the *Palmyrenians* were conterminous, if not the ſame; and for this reaſon, I doubt not, but *Odenathus*, in all the latter Writers, is call'd the *King* of the *Saracens*; though *Zenobia*, in her Letter to *Aurelian*, diſtinguiſhes the *Saracens* from her Subjects, reckoning the *Saracens* among her Foreign Troops and Auxiliaries. In the *Eccleſiaſtick Notitia*, it is accounted a part of *Phœnicia Libaneſia*. And *Porphyry*, treating of *Longinus*'s Inviting him to *Palmyra*, ſays, He undertook to perſuade him to leave *Sicily*, and to travel into *Phœnicia*. Others make it a part of

* *Lib.* 23. *cap. ult.*

Arabia; but 'tis commonly reputed by *Ptolemy*, and others, a part of *Syria*, as *Phœnicia* is another part of that large Country: though *Zenobia*, in her *Letter* above-mentioned, diſtinguiſhes the *Palmyrenians* from the *Syrians*, (as * *Zoſimus* alſo does.

* L. 1. p. 40.

That it ſtood in a *Wilderneß*, beſides the Holy Writ, and *Joſephus*, † *Pliny*, who was Contemporary with the Jewiſh Hiſtorian, agrees, who thus deſcribes it: 'Palmyra is a City eminent in its Situation, in the riches of its Soil, and its 'pleaſant Streams, being ſurrounded on 'every ſide with a vaſt Deſart of Sand: 'It ſeems to have been ſeparated from 'the reſt of the World, and did preſeve 'its Liberty in a private Condition between the two Mighty Empires, the 'Roman and Parthian; and as ſoon as 'any War happens to break out, it is 'equally their care to engage it on their 'ſide, and in their Intereſt: It is diſtant from *Seleucia* on the *Tygris* 337 'Miles; from the neighbouring Shore 'of *Syria*, or the *Mediterranean*, 203; 'and from *Damaſcus* 176. The ſame Author, in other places alſo, mentions the *Solitudes* of *Palmyra*; beyond which,

* *Nat. Hiſt. tom.* 1. *l.* 1. §. 21. *p.* 583. *ad Pariſ.*

which, on one hand, is *Stelendena* (a Country not ſo much as nam'd by other Writers;) on the other ſide, they reacht home to *Emeſa*; and to the Weſtward, as far as *Petra* in *Arabia Felix*, from whence to the *Perſian* Gulf, it was all Deſart.

It was diſtant from the *Euphrates* a Day's Journey, ſays * *Joſephus*: Not far from that Noble River, ſays † *Appian*, (for as ſoon as *Marc. Antony* threaten'd the Sack of the City, the Inhabitants immediately tranſported all their Goods beyond the River, the Banks of which they defended with their Archers, and ſo leaving the Town empty, baffled the Deſign, and deceiv'd the Expectations of the *Roman* Troops,) but ſituate by a River that run by its Walls, whoſe Name *Ptolemy* either knew not, or omitted. But other Geographers call it *Palmyra*, affirming, that it had its Riſe in the *Palmyrene* Mountains, ran through the Country, and at laſt emptied it ſelf into the *Euphrates*, though now there are no footſteps of its courſe left: Nor is it a wonder, that a ſmall River ſhould be ſwallowed up in a long tract of

* *Ubi ſup.*

† *Lib. 5. Bell. Civ. p. 676.*

Domin. Marius Niger, Maginus, &c.

of Time, of ſuch vaſt quantities of Sand.

When *Solomon* built it, he gave it all the Advantages of Strength and Security that the Rules of Fortification in that Age allowed of; and it continued ſo as long as it was a Frontier Garriſon, fenc'd with ſtrong Walls, and an advantagious Situation; but better guarded by a brave Garriſon, the Militia of *Palmyra* being eſteem'd very ſtout. Their Archers were excellent Marks-men, ſays * *Appian*, and their Horſe-men well armed with heavy Armour, and very ſecure, (the Army of *Zenobia*, ſaith the Hiſtorian, conſiſting of *Archers*, and *Horſe-men arm'd Cap-a-pé*,) who, notwithſtanding the weight of their Arms, were much better Horſe-men than the *Romans*; and ſuch a || Value did they ſet upon their Horſes, that no greater Affront or Diſgrace could be offer'd to a *Palmyrenian*, than to take his Horſe from him. Nor did the *Romans* diſdain their Aſſiſtance; for in their Militia with the *Aſſyrians* and *Moors*, the Inhabitants of *Palmyrene* and *Oſroene* were muſter'd.

* *Ubi ſup.*

Zoſim. l. 1. *p.* 44.

|| *Zonar. tom.* 2. *p.* 237.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

PALMYRA was the Metropolis of the Province, and gave it its Name, being a Place of great Antiquity, and great Trade; Rich, ſays *Pliny*, in the Fertility of its Soil, but much more ſo by its Commerce; for it had not only the Advantage of its own Commodities, but was the Thorough-fare of all the Merchants that liv'd beyond it toward the *Mediterranean*, who traded to *Forath*, and *Charax*, and other Ports on the *Perſian* Gulf, if I rightly underſtand * *Pliny*, who ſays, that at *Petra* in *Arabia* the two Ways met, both of thoſe who came through *Palmyra* (probably from *Antioch*, *Seleucia* in *Piſidia*, *Laodicea*, and other conterminous Places,) and of thoſe alſo who came from *Gaza*, travelling towards the Gulf, it being impoſſible, but the Caravans, who made that their conſtant Road both to and from *Perſia*, muſt help to enrich the Stages where they Baited.

* *Nat. Hiſt. l. 6. §. 32. p. 722.*

But this was not all its Happineſs; its Inhabitants were great Merchants, ſays

* *Ubi sup.* says * *Appian.* And *Marc. Antony* thought the Plunder of this City a sufficient Recompence for all the Fatigues and Hardships which his Horse endured in that Countrey, during the *Persian* War, tho' he failed of his Attempt: They had form'd themselves into a *Company*, under a President and Governor of their own. (An *East-India* Trade cannot well be carry'd on by a single Person, though he were one of the Merchants of *Tyre*, who were Companions of Princes.) For I find in
Pag. 99. one of the Inscriptions, that *Septimius Orodes* was honourd with an Illustrious Testimonial from (*a*) the Presidents, or Chiefs of the Merchants. And I doubt not, but they carry'd the Manufactures, and other Commodities of *Asia*, down the *Euphrates* to *Balsora*,

(*a*) Μαρτυρωθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχεμπόρων, a word that appears in no Author, that I know of. ἔμπορος, Ἀρχέμπορος, like ἐρανιστὴς, ἀρχερανιστὴς (*Etym.M.p.*474.) or θεώρος, ἀρχιθέωρος, ὁ ἡγούμενος τῶν θεωρῶν, (*Id. ib.*) Those Governors of the Affairs of Trade were called at *Athens* Ἐπιμεληταὶ Ἐμπορίου (*Etym. M. & Harpocrat. v.* Ἐπιμελητ.) Their Number, says *Aristotle*, was Ten: Their Business, to Over-see the Ports, and to take care of the Corn that was brought thither; for which purpose they had their ἐμπόρια τοῦ σίτου, and it was reckon'd among the most Honourable Benefactions, to build such a Granary. *Philostrat. Vit. Polemon. Smyrnæ.* Τάτε τοῦ σίτου ἐμπόρια ἐξεποιήθη, καὶ γυμνάσιον, καὶ θ'ἔξ.

or

or perhaps no farther than *Vologeſia*, and brought from *Perſia* the Merchandizes of *India* and *Arabia*, and ſo furniſht the *Romans* with Spices, and Silks, and other rich Goods: For though they are ſaid to lie far from the Sea, and without the advantage of the River (which muſt be retracted, ſince it anciently had the aſſiſtance of a River, though it is ſince loſt in the Sands,) yet it muſt be acknowledged, they were not far from the *Euphrates*, a Noble and Navigable River, and had the conveniency of their Camels and Dromedaries, by which ſort of Carriage all the Riches of the Eaſt were formerly brought into *Europe* by Caravans, before the Cape of *Good-Hope* was diſcover'd. Vid. *Append.*

But *Palmyra* had its own Product, Salt, with which the Inhabitants now drive a trade; and Dates, the Fruits of their Palm-Trees, which were not only great Delicacies at *Rome*, and elſewhere, (for *Nicolaus Damaſcenus* thought the Dates of *Syria* a fit Preſent for *Auguſtus*, and *Phœnicia* hath its *Plut. Sympoſ.* 8. *qu.* 4.

its Name from its (*a*) Palm-Trees, but was of the ſame Uſe to the *Aſiaticks*, that the Cocoa is to the *Indians*, if we may believe * *Strabo*, who affirms, that the Country about *Euphrates* produces great quantities of Barley, but that the want of all other things was ſupplied by their Palm-Trees; that that ſingle Tree afforded the Inhabitants both Wine and Vinegar, Honey and Meal; and out of it they wove their Cloaths: The Shells ſerve the Smiths for Fire; and when you have ſoakt the Shells in Water, you may feed your Cattle, your Oxen and Sheep with them: And 'tis reported, that there is a *Perſic* Poem, which enumerates Three hundred and ſixty Uſes (one for every Day of the old Year) of the Palm-Tree. † In ſome Places of *Arabia* they are perfum'd: And thoſe in || *Syria*, as they are moſt Beautiful to

* *Lib.* 16. *p.* 746.

† *Id. p.* 778.

|| *Plut. ubi ſup.*

(*a*) The Countrey being call'd *Palmifera*, and the Palm-Tree plac'd commonly on the reverſe of their Coins: For which reaſon, I believe, that the Tree in the Palmyrene Marble, that ſtands between *Alaghelus* and *Malachbelus*, is not a *Pine*, as *Gruter* and Monſieur *Spon* affirm, but a *Palm-Tree* ill grav'd.

the

the Eye, ſo they are of a moſt delicious Taſte to the Palate.

And the Ruines of its pompous Buildings yet ſtanding, erected before it became the Seat of the Eaſtern Empire, are a further and undeniable Demonſtration, that, notwithſtanding its unhappy Situation in the Confines of two ſuch Potent and Contentious Neighbours, as the *Romans* and the *Parthians*, it was once a very Flouriſhing and Wealthy Place, though now it looks like the Reſidence of Beggery and Famine.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

THE *Government* of *Palmyra* comes next to be conſider'd, both in Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Affairs. And firſt, in Civil Affairs.

As long as it was in the hands of *Solomon*, I queſtion not but it was govern'd, as the reſt of his Provinces were, by ſuch Lieutenants as himſelf appointed (the Στρατηγοὶ & Ἡγεμόνες of the ſeveral Κληρυχίαι, whom * *Joſephus* mentions) under *Roboboam*, I take it for granted, it revolted with the reſt of *Syria*, when *Rezin* became King of *Damaſcus*: but whether it ſubmitted to the Power of *Rezin*, or form'd it ſelf into a Commonwealth, as it was afterwards, or what its Government was till the days of *Auguſtus*, we have no Records. In his time, probably, it was govern'd by a Prince, or *Toparch*; almoſt every Town in *Parthia*, and the neighbouring *Syria*, upon the Death of *Julius Cæſar*, or rather after the fatal Overthrow of *Craſſus*, being ſeiz'd upon by ſome Tyrant, the *Parthians* ſupporting

* *Ant. l.* 8. *c.* 2.

Appian. l. 5. *Bell. Civil. p.* 671.

porting them in their Uſurpations, having been invited by thoſe Roytelets to their Aſſiſtance. But ſuppoſing that it had fallen under one of thoſe petty Princes, in *Pliny*'s time it recover'd its old Form of Government; for he affirms, that in his days *Palmyra* was (αὐτονόμ☉, *ſui Juris*) neither ſubject to the *Romans*, nor the *Parthians*, as *F. Harduin* well interprets the words (*privatâ ſorte*) of the Natural Hiſtorian. And * *Aurelian*, in his Letter to *Zenobia*, when he requires her to ſurrender herſelf, promiſes, that the Inhabitants of the Country ſhould be govern'd by their own Laws. And of this the Inſcriptions are an unqueſtionable Evidence, wherein (*a*) the Senate and People of *Palmyra* are frequently ſaid to have erected Monuments to thoſe Illuſtrious Perſons who had deſerved well of the Republick. And *Septi-*

* *Vopiſc Aurel.*

(*a*) Ἡ βυλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμ☉, &c. Σεπτίμι☉ Ὀδαινάθ☉ ὁ λαμπρότατ☉ συγκλητικός. Σεπτίμι☉ Αἰρήνης Ὀδαινάθε λαμπροτατ☉ συγκλητικός. Ρυπίλι☉ Οὐορώδης συγκλητικός, καὶ βυλευτὴς Ἀγείππας γραμματεὺς τὸ β'. —— ἱερὸν πραιτώριον.

mius Odænathus, and *Septimius Æranes* his Son, are said to be Men of the Senatorian Dignity; and *Rupilius Orodes*, both a Senator, and of the Council of State.

In the Reign of *Antoninus Caracalla* it was a *Roman* Colony, as appears by the Coins: But under *Odænathus* and his Sons it became the Seat of the *Oriental* Empire, conquer'd all *Egypt*, and forc'd a great part of the *Roman* Empire to acknowledge its Jurisdiction, being possest of all the East as far as *Ancyra*, and in a fair way to possess all *Bythynia*, as far as *Chalcedon*, had not the Natives taken Arms in behalf of *Aurelian*: But it is now under an *Arab* Prince, Nominated by, and Tributary to the *Ottoman Port*.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

THE *Religion* of *Palmyra*, when it was ſubject to King *Solomon*, was, I queſtion not, *Jewiſh*; but how long they retain'd *Circumciſion* among them, after God in his juſt Judgment had confin'd *Rehoboam*'s Kingdom to narrower Limits, I know not: This is very plain, that very many of the Proper Names of the Inhabitants in after Ages are *Jewiſh*, and *Zenobia* her ſelf (who by her Name appears to have been a *Syrian*, and probably of *Tadhmur*, for there her Father liv'd when ſhe loſt her Empire, though ſhe deriv'd her ſelf Originally from *Cleopatra* Queen of *Egypt*) was a *Jeweſs*. And 'tis not altogether unlikely, that *Longinus*, in Complaiſance to the Religion of his Miſtreſs, in his admirable Treatiſe of the *Sublime*, ſpeaks ſo honourably of *Moſes* and his Writings. And if we may credit *Benjamin Tudelenſis*, even in his time there were Two thouſand profeſt *Jews* Inhabitants of that City. In proceſs of time, I doubt not but they

blended the Jewiſh Rites with thoſe of the Gentiles, (as the new Inhabitants of *Samaria* did, after the Natives had been tranſported by *Shalmanezer*,) till at laſt Paganiſm prevail'd.

After Chriſtianity was planted in the World, and St. *Thaddeus* had preach'd the Goſpel by our Bleſſed Saviour's own Order at *Edeſſa*; I believe, that Holy Religion ſoon ſpread it ſelf into the Neighbourhood, even to *Tadhmur*, tho' Paganiſm was not quite diſpoſſeſt; as appears by the Inſcriptions to their Country Gods, *Alagbelus*, and *M. Malachbelus*, *Jaribolus*, *Venus Aphacitis*, and others, who all had at *Palmyra* their Temples, Prieſts, and Services. It was very early an Epiſcopal See, if not an Archiepiſcopal, becauſe it was the Metropolis of a Country: but in the Subſcriptions of the ancient Councils, or the *Notitiæ* of the Church, we have very little or no mention of its Prelates. *Marinus*, Biſhop of *Palmyra*, is ſaid to have ſubſcribed the Canons of the Firſt General Council at *Niece*; and in the Sixth Act of that at *Chalcedon*, *John* Biſhop of *Palmyra* being abſent, made his Subſcription by the Hand

Hand of the Archbiſhop of *Damaſcus*: At which time (as from its being ruin'd by *Aurelian*), it held the rank of a poor Biſhoprick, and was under the Metropolitan of *Damaſcus*: But in the *Notitia* collected by *Leo the Wiſe*, *Edeſſa* is the Metropolis of *Phœnicia Libaneſia*, in the Patriarchate of *Antioch*, whoſe Suffragans were the Biſhops of *Laodicea*, *Palmyra*, &c. by which it appears, that in *Leo*'s time, *Ann. Dom.* 900. it was ſtill a Biſhoprick; and when it loſt that Honour, I cannot determine.

In the *Roman Martyrology* of *Baronius*, on the 15th. of *June* is celebrated the Memory of the Saints *Lybia* and *Leonis*, who were Siſters; and of *Eutropia*, a Girl of Twelve Years old, all of *Palmyra*, who by divers Torments obtain'd the Crown of Martyrdom. It is true, there is no mention of theſe Brave Women in the Old *Roman Martyrology*, as *Roſweyd* accounts it, nor in *Ado* of *Vienna*, but the Acts of St. *Febronia*, who ſuffer'd under *Diocleſian* at *Sibapolis* (perhaps *Scythopolis*, or the Συρίας πύλας) in *Syria*, mention them, as Perſons who ſuffer'd in the ſame cruel Perſecution. It is plain, from the Inſcrip- *V. Mart. Jun.* 25.

tions found at *Tadhmur*, that *Dioclefian* had been in that Country; and from the Church-Hiſtorians, that he rais'd a violent Perſecution in *Syria*: And that which gave Riſe to it, was in all likelihood that which *Euſebius* obſerves, that, a little while after the Chriſtians of *Nicodemia* had felt the Fury of the Emperor, ſeveral Confederacies were form'd in *Melitene*, and other Parts of *Syria*, to ſeize the Empire, and to dethrone *Dioclefian*. Now, in every Inſurrection or Tumult, the Chriſtians were ſure to ſuffer, as the Authors of Sedition, though they were the moſt Peaceable and Loyal Men in the World, both by Principle and Practice.

Thus Chriſtianity ſubſiſted in thoſe days of Perſecution, when the Number of Martyrs encreas'd the Number of Confeſſors: But then Peace and Plenty were, by the Bounty of the Great *Conſtantine* and his Succeſſors made the Churches Patrimony. I queſtion not but the Followers of our Bleſſed Saviour, at *Palmyra*, had their ſhare of the Proſperity which their Brethren enjoy'd; till the Viciouſneſs of the Chriſtian Morals, and the execrable Opinions

nions and Hereſies that debaucht the Faith of the Orientals, ſubjected thoſe once Famous Churches to the Mahometan Yoke: For as ſoon as *Syria* ſubmitted to the Power, and acknowledg'd the Dominion of the Succeſſors of that Falſe Prophet, I preſume, *Palmyra* was by degrees reduc'd to the mean Condition in which it now is; for perhaps, no one City hath run ſo many risks of different Fortune, as *Palmyra*, though it hath hitherto preſerv'd its ancient Name and Situation; while, of *Cteſiphon* and *Perſepolis*, *Niniveh* and *Babylon*, with many other Cities in that part of *Aſia*, it may be averr'd, what the Pſalmiſt ſays of *Sodom*, and the other Cities which God deſtroyed, *their Memorial is periſht with them.*

CHAP. VI.

IT is a very difficult Task, to give a juſt and clear Account of the ſeveral Fates of Ancient Kingdoms and Governments, eſpecially when Nature hath ſeem'd to pleaſe it ſelf, by placing them in a remote Situation, and at a diſtance both of Place and Communication from other Nations: And this is the caſe of *Tadhmur*, which was repair'd, if not built by *Solomon*, a Great, a Wiſe, and a Victorious Prince, who beautify'd it with whatever might afford it Strength and Ornament; loſt, I take it for granted, in a little time after, under his Son *Rehoboam*, when, through his Folly, and God's juſt Judgment, the greateſt part of his Territories revolted from him. I conjecture, that as long as the Kingdom of *Damaſcus* kept up its Grandeur, ſo long *Palmyra* was in Peace, either under thoſe Kings, or under the Conduct of its own Senate: But when *Pharoah Necoh* went up againſt the King of *Aſſyria* to the River *Euphrates*, and made himſelf Maſter of all *Syria*, I doubt not

2 King. 23. 29.

but

but it was for a while ſubject to him, till *Nebuchadnezzar* conquer'd all thoſe Countries home to the Gates of *Peluſium*, now *Damiata*. The * Fabulous Hiſtorian of *Antioch* would have the World believe, that when *Nebuchadnezzar* intended to Beſiege *Jeruſalem*, it was in the hands of the *Jews*, who had Mann'd it with a very ſtout Garriſon; and that Victorious Prince, not thinking fit to leave a Place ſo well fortified behind him, ſate down before it; and when he had taken it, burnt it, and then beſieg'd and took *Jeruſalem*.

* *Jo. Maleſ. par. 2. pag. 152.*

After this, it continued tributary to the Princes of the *Babyloniſh* and *Perſian* Empires, though perhaps govern'd by a Senate of its own Citizens; and in the ſame State it remain'd under the Succeſſors of the Great *Alexander* (the Kings of *Syria*) being united by *Seleucus*, I doubt not, to the reſt of his Territories; whence, in like manner, as the other Cities under his Government, it receiv'd the Uſe of the Syrian *Epocha*, the *Æra Antiochena*, *Dhilcarnain*, or *Seleucidarum*, and the Names of the Macedonian Months, which the Inſcriptions undeniably prove.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

* *Bell. Civ. l. 5. p. 676.*

SYRIA (ſays * *Appian*) was govern'd by the Poſterity of *Seleucus Nicator*, to the days of *Antiochus Pius*, and his Son: but when *Pompey the Great* conquer'd it, and made it a Province, it was govern'd by a Roman Preſident: The firſt who bore that Office, was *Scaurus*; and after him, though not immediately, *Gabinius*. *Gabinius* was ſucceeded by *Craſſus*, who being ſlain by the *Parthians* left his Government to *Bibulus*. But whether, in all this ſpace of time, while the Roman Eagle hover'd over the Eaſt, *Palmyra* was a Sharer in in the Common Calamity, and felt the Talons of that Bird of Prey, we have no Accounts.

After the Death of *Julius Cæſar*, every City ſubmitted to a Prince of their own; the *Parthians* affording them their Aſſiſtance, having, upon the Invitation of thoſe Tyrants, penetrated *Syria*. This incens'd *Marc Antony*, who expell'd the Uſurpers, exacted heavy Taxes from other Cities, and attempted *Pal-*

Palmyra. For when *Cleopatra*, who waited on him in *Cilicia*, was return'd home, *Antony*, who had given himſelf up to her Embraces, and, to the loſs of his Honour, obey'd all her Dictates, commanded his Horſe to Plunder *Palmyra*, upon the light and trifling pretext, that by reaſon of their Situation in the Confines of the *Romans* and *Parthians*, the *Palmyrenians* were firm to neither Intereſt, but minded their own Profit, and the Encreaſe of their Trade and Merchandiſe; but in truth, that he might pay his Soldiers with the Spoils of that wealthy City.

The Inhabitants of *Palmyra* being aware of the Invaſion, carry'd all their rich Moveables to the other ſide of the River, the Banks of which they lined with their Archers. Upon which, *Antony*'s Troops finding the City empty of Inhabitants, and of the Riches they ſo eagerly coveted, having loſt their labour, return'd to their Camp. This Invaſion occaſion'd the next Parthian War, many of the petty Princes of *Syria* flying for Shelter to the *Parthians*, while *Marc Antony*, having been ſo ſcandalouſly foyl'd, ſtay'd no longer in *Syria*

Syria to ſettle Affairs, and quiet Diſturbances, but haſten'd into *Egypt* to attend *Cleopatra*, to whom he had entirely devoted himſelf and his Fortunes.

CHAP. VIII.

IN this ſtate of Freedom, Eaſe and Plenty, it continued under *Auguſtus*; and the ſucceeding Emperors govern'd by their own Officers and Laws, as *Pliny* expreſly averrs, till the Reign of *Trajan*, when, I conjecture, it fell into the ſame Common Calamity with *Edeſſa*, *Niſibis*, and other Frontier Towns of the Eaſt (whoſe fate it is commonly to be harraſt on both ſides;) for *Trajan* having, in his Sixth Conſulate, declar'd War againſt the *Armenians* and *Parthians*, upon the pretext, That the King of *Armenia* had receiv'd his Crown from the King of *Perſia*, whereas he ought to have taken it from the hands of the Roman Emperor; but in truth, ſtimulated by his deſire of

Dio Caſſ. Traj.

Vain-

Vain-glory, made an Expedition into the Eaſt, reduc'd *Armenia*, and ſettled the Government of that Countrey; took *Niſibis* and *Batnæ*, and was honour'd by the Senate with the Name of *Parthicus*, added to his other Titles. After which, he winter'd at *Antioch*, where he, by an extraordinary Providence, and with much difficulty, eſcap't periſhing in that great Earthquake which had almoſt ruind that Noble City. After this, he return'd into the Eaſt, paſt the *Euphrates*, ſubdued all *Adiabene*, *Arbela*, and *Gaugamela*, and came to *Babylon*; the *Parthians* being unable to oppoſe him, having been much weaken'd by their Civil Diſſentions. Then he paſt the *Tigris*, and went to *Cteſiphon*, and thence purſued his Conqueſts to the Ocean, where he declared, That if he had been as young as *Alexander*, he would have follow'd the Example of that Illuſtrious Prince, and have ſail'd into *India*. But while he was thus amuſing himſelf with his vain Ambitious Thoughts, the Provinces which he had ſubdued revolted, and ſeiz'd and murther'd the Roman Garriſons.

Where-

Whereupon, *Trajan* commanded *Luſius* and *Maximus* to chaſtiſe the Rebels, and to reduce the Cities to Terms of Duty and Obedience. In this Expedition *Maximus* was ſlain in Battle; but *Luſius* recover'd *Niſibis*, took *Edeſſa*, as he did alſo *Seleucia*, and other Places, by his Lieutenant-Generals: Whereupon, to prevent their future Revolt, *Trajan* gave the *Parthians* a King, and ſettled the Eſtate of the *Eaſt* (as * *Vopiſcus* calls that Country, becauſe, in reſpect of *Rome*, the Sun ſeem'd to riſe in *Parthia*,) and this the Coins confirm, which mention the reducing of *Armenia* and *Meſopotamia* under the Power and Juriſdiction of the *Romans* in this Emperor's Reign.

* *In Aurelian.*

At this time, 'tis probable, *Palmyra* was much ruin'd; for otherwiſe it would not have wanted the favourable Aſſiſtance of *Trajan's* Succeſſor, who may be juſtly reckon'd their Second Founder. *Hadrian* was a magnificent Prince, and a great Builder (and for that reaſon call'd the *Wall-Flower*, a great number of eminent Edifices owing their Being and Beauty to his Liberality:) He it was who built the

Fora

Fora at *Nicodemia* and *Nice*, the Four High-ways, and that part of the Wall that looks toward *Bithynia*: At *Cyzicum* he built the Temple, and floar'd it with Marble: And in many other Places he either erected New, or repair'd the Old Buildings, both Sacred and Civil. And in almoſt every City of his vaſt Empire, he left ſome Marks of his Magnificence. * *Dio Caſſius* affirming, that he generouſly aſſiſted all the Towns that were ſubject to his Empire, or confederate with it, of which he viſited more than any of his Predeceſſors, a great part of his Reign being employed in more than one Progreſs through thoſe ſpacious Territories: ſome Cities he adorn'd with Aqueducts, others with ſafe Ports; upon ſome he beſtow'd a Donative of Corn, or Publick Buildings; upon others, Money or Privileges. † At *Antioch* he repair'd what had been deſtroy'd by that terrible and furious Earthquake that in *Trajan*'s time had almoſt buried that noble City in its own Ruines; as he did the Temple at *Cyzicum*, which in his own Reign had been deſtroyed by another Earthquake, and made it one of

Chron. Alex. p. 598.

* *Hadrian.*

† *Jo. Malel. par.* 1. *pag.* 363, 364.

of the World's Wonders for Architecture and Beauty, beſtowing great Privileges upon the poor undone Inhabitants, which was the nobleſt Charity: He alſo re-erected the *Coloſſus* at *Rhodes*, which had been many years before thrown down by an Earthquake. Above all, he was a great Benefactor to the City of *Athens*, toward which he always expreſt a peculiar Regard; as in Requital, they call'd him, while alive, *Adrianus Olympius* in their Coines and Inſcriptions; as he was in ſeveral other Cities, after his death, Deify'd, eſpecially in *Syria*; for to ſpeak the Truth, and to be doing Good, were, in the eſteem even of the Heathen World, moſt God-like Qualities.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

BUT the Liberality of this Munificent Emperor was not confined to *Greece*, or the adjacent Parts of *Aſia*; the remoter Cities of *Syria*, who had ſuffer'd ſo deeply during the War which *Trajan* made in the Eaſt, were not excluded from their ſhare in his Bounty: For he had been a * Lieutenant-General in that Expedition, and had ſeen the diſmal Effects of War, and Military Rage and Rapine; and upon the Death of *Trajan*, had made a Peace with the Parthians (envious of the Glory of his Predeceſſor, ſays *Sextus Rufus*, very maliciouſly,) having remov'd the King, whom *Trajan* had ſet over them, and withdrawn the Roman Armies out of all the Countries beyond the *Euphrates*; and becauſe he was not ambitious to have his Name inſcribed on all his Publick Buildings, as it was cuſtomary, he gave it to the Cities which he new built or beautified, among whom we muſt reckon *Palmyra*, † which, after he had repair'd its Ruines, he call'd *Hadrianople*;

* *Spart. Hadr.*

† *Steph. de Urb.*

drianople; and (with the leave of Father *Harduin*, perhaps the Coin in the King of *France*'s Treaſury, and in Monſieur *Patin*, p. 203. with this Inſcription, ΑΔΡΙΑΝ - - - - ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙC) may be aſcribed not to *Hadrianople* in *Thrace*, nor that other City in *Cyrenaica* of the ſame Name, but to *Palmyra*, which was a Mother-City, as appears by the * Inſcriptions, and by *Ptolemy*, who not only reckons it among the Metropoles of *Cœleſyria*, but makes it the Capital of the Province of *Palmyrene*, which had its Denomination from it. And it is not unfitly repreſented by a *Woman* ſitting on a *Hill*: For *Tadmor* is encloſed on three ſides with long ridges of Mountaines, the Caſtle being built on one of them, which commands the Entrance into the City: And to this City I would aſcribe the Coin of *Caracalla*, in Monſieur *Patin*, p. 302. with the Figure of an *Archer* almoſt Naked on the reverſe, his Thin Habit implying the Heats; and his Arms, the Militia of his Country; the *Sagittarii* of *Palmyrene* being Famous in Hiſtory.

* *Pag.* 99.

This

This City, I doubt not, but *Adrian* viſited, when, in the Sixth Year of his Empire, he made his Progreſs into the Eaſt, and receiv'd the Homage of all the Kings and Toparchs, whoſe Territories lay in thoſe Parts. And this his Expedition, I underſtand to be meant in the *Inſcriptions*. In which Expedition, *Malech Agrippa*, the Son of *Jaraius*, was the ſecond time the Secretary of the City; and when that Prince happen'd to draw near his end, and the *Palmyrenians* were in fear of loſing their Patron, their Neighbours of the City *Tieve*, three Days Journey from *Tadmor* towards the *Euphrates* (probably the *Oriza* of *Ptolemy*, as the Learned Mr. *Halley* conjectures) and a City of *Pælmyrene*, as *Ptolemy* reckons it, made their Vows for his Recovery, (as appears by the *Inſcription:*) For in the Laſt Year, the Nineteenth of his Reign, (not the Seventh, as the *Æra* of *Seleucidæ* is miſtaken in the Firſt Account,) " *Agathangelus* of *Abila*, the Decapo- " litan, built an Arch, or *Cupola*, in " the Temple of *Jupiter*, and erected " a Bed of State (or *Pulvinar*, uſually " dedicated to the Heathen Deities) to

Pag. 105.

Pag. 109.

Vid. *Append.*

" *Jupiter the Thunderer*, for the Health " of the Emperor *Adrian* his Lord" ; who languiſht a long time before he died, and ſuffer'd ſuch Agonies of Pain, that he would fain have perſuaded his Servant, who attended him, to have run him through ; and when that Perſuaſive would not prevail, would either have ſtabb'd or poyſon'd himſelf. So difficult was it for this Great Emperor to breathe his laſt.

Spart. Hadr.

But when *Aurelius Antoninus* had prevail'd with the Senate to have him Deify'd, and appointed him the Honours properly given to the Gods, with a College of Prieſts, and Attendants to do the Service of the Temples erected to him at *Puteoli*, and elſewhere, (which Societies continued to the Reign of † *Septimius Severus* at *Rome* ; but how long in the Cities of the Eaſt, I know not,) and had inſtituted Publick Games in his Name, (from which Gratitude to his Patron, the Hiſtorian ſays, *Aurelius* had the Name of *Pius* given him.)

† *Gruter.* CCCCVII. 1, 2. CIↃ-- IX. 9.

The Cities of the Eaſt, in Imitation of *Italy*, had their *Sodales Hadrianales* alſo (and Temples, queſtionleſs, erected to his Memory) of which *Samoſata* is an

an undeniable Inſtance, where *L. Fabius M. F. Gal. Cilo*, Præfect of the City, was a Fellow of the College of Prieſts deputed to the Service of the Deify'd Emperor *Adrian*; particularly *Palmyra*, who gratefully commemorated her Second Founder, allowed of his Conſecration, built him a Temple, and devoted ſome of her Inhabitants to the Service thereof, as appears by the *Inſcription* in *Gruter*; and by another among thoſe lately publiſht, where he is called *Adrian the God*; and I am apt to believe, that the *little Temple* mention'd in the *Journal*, was erected to his Memory, as well as to *Jupiter*.

Grut. ubi ſup.

Vid. *Append.*

Pag. 104, 105.

Such *Societies* were erected in moſt Cities of the Empire, to one or other of their deceas'd, but deify'd Princes, call'd *Collegia Sacerdotalia* by *Lampridius*, in the *Life of Commodus*, p. 50. and they had, according to their Rank and Dignity, their ſeveral *Vexilla*, or Banners, to diſtinguiſh them, called *Vexilla Collegiorum, & Signa Templorum*, by *Trebellius Pollio*, in the *Life of Gallienus*, p. 178. For as the Heathen Mock-Deities had their Ἱεροφάνται, ſo their Emperors, when advanced to that Honour, had their Σεβαζοφάνται, with all the Pomp and Ceremony that accompanied the Service of their Gods. (Vid. *Gruter.*)

CHAP. X.

THE City having been repair'd, we may juſtly ſuppoſe, that by the Advantages of its Situation and Trade, and the continuance of a long Peace with the *Parthians*, not often interrupted, (except in the War which *Septimius Severus* made againſt them, when he took both *Cteſiphon* and *Babylon*, and reduced all *Arabia*, having marcht through that *Arabia* where the *Scenitæ* pitcht their Tents, in which Country *Tadmur* lay,) it arrived to its ancient Glory, when the Emperor *Antoninus Caracalla* honour'd it with the Privileges of a * Roman Colony *Juris Italici* (for there was a difference between Colonies, all were not *Juris Italici*, as *Palmyra* was,) *Colonia Palmyra* it is ſtiled in the † Coins of that Emperor, a Metropolis and a Colony, in the *Inſcriptions*; probably in Honour of his Mother, whom he afterward made his Wife, *Julia Domna*, who was of this Country; but whether of *Emiſa* (as ſeveral Authors affirm) or *Palmyra*, or

Zoſim. l. 1. p. 4.

* *Ulpian. l. 1. de Cenſib.*

† *Goltz. Theſ. pag. 151.*

or some third City, I am not certain: A Native of *Syria* we know she was, for so says * *Spartianus*; and *Oppian* her Contemporary, calls her, the (*a*) *Assyrian Venus*, and a *Moon that was never Eclipst*, or *in her Wain*. The same Poet, in the same place, mentioning the Destruction of the *Parthians*, and the Taking of *Ctesiphon* (as the Coins do mention the † *Victoria Parthica* of that Prince) as do also the Historians; in which Expedition, I doubt not but the *Palmyrenians*, in Gratitude, Declared for his Interest.

* *Spartian. Septim.* p. 65.

† *Mezob.* p. 295.

This Honour and Privilege of a Roman Colony, *Palmyra* kept, in the Reign of *Alexander Severus* (for under him, the great Lawyer *Ulpian* flourisht) and assisted him with their Forces in his Expedition into the East, in the Fifth Year of his Reign, (of which Undertaking, || *Lampridius* gives so august a Character; though *Herodian* upon this, as upon all other occasions,

|| *Vit. Al. Severi.* pag. 131, 133, 134.

(*a*) Ἀσσύριη Κυθέρεια, καὶ οὐ λείπουσα σελήνη. *Oppian. Κυνεγ.* p. 4.

Ἐφρασάμην Πάρθωντε δύας, καὶ Κτησιφῶντα. ---- & p. 7.

leſſens, and would obſcure the Atchievements of that excellent Prince. In this Expedition, * *Aurelius Zenobius* being, as I conjecture, the Commander of the Forces of the Republick of *Palmyra*, attended, and was an unwearied Aſſiſtant to *Rutilius Criſpinus*, the Roman General, and diſcharg'd the Offices of a Man of Conduct and Courage againſt the *Perſians*, and deſerv'd the moſt ample Teſtimonials of his Bravery and Prudence.

* *Journal*, *p.* 97.

Vid. *Append.*

But *Palmyra* never arrived to ſuch an illuſtrious pitch of Glory, as it did under *Odenathus* and his Sons, who eſtabliſht it the Seat of the Eaſtern Empire, and beautified and ſtrengthned it accordingly; and for a few Years it afforded as remarkable Tranſactions of War and State, as any other part of the World can boaſt of, in ſo ſhort a ſpace of Time: And therefore I ſhall give my ſelf the liberty to treat more largely of theſe Affairs, and to deduce the Series of the Hiſtory of the Imperial Family of *Palmyra*, as far as the Antients afford us light, and ſhall leave the judicious Reader to his choice, what Memoirs he will give moſt credit to, having

CЄΠΤ·ΖΗΝΟΒΙΑ CЄΒ·
L Є·
IMP C HERODIANVS AVG
SALVS AVGVSTI
AVT·K·Δ·ΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΝΟC CЄΒ·
B
ΟΥΑΒΑΛΑΘΟC ΑΘΗΝΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙΑC
L Є
CЄΠΤΙΜΙΑ ΖΗΝΟΒΙΑ CЄΒ
L·
IMP C AVRELIANVS AVG
AVT·K·Δ·ΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΝΟC CЄΒ·
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A

L·
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VABALATHVS VCRIM DR

ΟΥΑΒΑΛΑΘΟC ΑΘΗΝΟΥΑΥΤ·ΕΡΜΙΑC
L
Δ

having taken care in every Paragraph to produce my Vouchers; while I bemoan heartily the loſs of *Uranius* his (Ἀραβικὰ) *Arabick Hiſtory*, in the Second of which Books he treated of *Palmyra*; as alſo of *Domninus* of *Antioch*, whom *Malela* commonly follows; and of *Philoſtratus* of *Athens*, the Hiſtoriographer, who liv'd under *Aurelian*, and wrote the Tranſactions of his own Time: but particularly I regret the want of that *Oration* which *Longinus* made in Praiſe of *Odenathus*, and called by his Name, of which *Libanius* makes mention in his *Epiſtles*, which would queſtionleſs have given a more ample Hiſtory of that Illuſtrious Prince, than all the jejune Narratives of the Roman Hiſtorians. But ſince we muſt follow the Light that is given us, I ſhall firſt begin with *Odenathus*, then treat of *Zenobia*, and their Children.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

ODENATHUS (ſays * *Oroſius*) was a Man of mean Birth and Original, (*Odenathus Quidam*, as he ſtiles him:) A Man of *Palmyra* (ſays † *Zonaras*:) Of no Reputation, and unknown (ſays ‖ *Agathias*,) till he made his Name Famous by his Conqueſts over the *Perſians*, and other eminent Atchievements, which give him an extraordinary Character in the ancient Hiſtorians. * *Sextus Rufus* ſays, that he was a *Decurio* of *Palmyra*; which being a word of large ſignification, may in that Author, I think, be render'd a Procurator, or Senator: And ſo he is ſtiled in the † *Inſcriptions*, if he be the ſame Perſon, *Septimius Odethus, the Moſt Illuſtrious Senator, the Son of Airanes* Nephew of *Vaballathus*; of which Order alſo his Son *Septimius Airanes* was. And ‖ *Zoſimus* ſays expreſly, that his Anceſtors were Men of Honour and Condition, having been in paſt Ages enobled by the neighbouring Kings. * *Georgius Syncellus* calls him a great

* *Lib.* 7. *cap.* 22.

† *Ubi Inf.*

‖ *Lib.* 4. *p.* 134.

* *Breviar.*

† *Pag.* 88. Ibid. *P.* 99.

‖ *L.* 1. *p.* 36.

* *Pag.* 382.

great Soldier, and probably he was the General of the Forces of the Commonwealth of *Palmyra*: A Prince (ſays * *Pollio*) accompliſht in the Art Military, and from his Youth a great Hunter, (Hunting being in thoſe days, according to the moſt ancient Practice, the Recreation and Exerciſe of the moſt Eminent Perſons, a Sport that bred them to great Hardineſs and Reſolution, and much Experience in War,) he beſtowed his leiſure hours in deſtroying Lyons, Leopards, Bears, and other Beaſts of Prey, inuring himſelf to bear the Fatigues of Labour, to endure the Hardſhips of Heat, and Showers, and the other Toils incident to a Woodman's Life; and by theſe Methods brought himſelf to a Habit of enduring the ſcorching Beams of the Sun, and the annoyance of the Duſt, in his Wars with the *Perſians*.

* *Pag.* 192.

The later Greeks frequently ſtile him the *King of the Saracens*, of the *Barbarous Saracens*, as if he had been a *Phylarchus* of ſome part of *Arabia*: † *Ammianus* averring, that thoſe who were anciently called *Arabes Scenitæ*, were afterwards called *Saracens*, (but herein

† *Lib.* 23. *cap. ult.*

herein he differs from both *Pliny* and *Ptolemy*:) A Name (ſays *Scaliger*) never uſed by any Author before *Ptolemy*; whereas *Pliny*, who liv'd at leaſt fifty Years before that excellent Aſtronomer, expreſly mentions them. Now the *Saracens*, over whom *Odenathus* and *Zenobia* reign'd, had been of old, ſays *Procopius* Confederate with the *Romans*.

And as the Quality of this Mighty Prince hath been miſtaken, ſo have his Actions been wrongfully repreſented: *Oroſius* affirming, that he form'd an Army of the Boors of *Syria*, and with thoſe Ruſticks overcame the *Perſians*; and ſo ſays *Sextus Rufus*. But they confound two Stories, if we may credit * *Malela*; for he affirms, that when *Sapores* had over-run all *Syria*, and had taken, plunder'd and burnt *Antioch* (which happen'd in the 314th. Year of the *Æra Antiochena*, the 12th. of the Reigns of *Valerian* and *Gallienus*,) he afterward ravaged all the Eaſt to *Emeſa*, a City of *Phœnicia Libaneſia*, carrying with him, whither ſoever he went, Fire and Sword, and all the Inſtruments of Cruelty: but when he came

* *Par.* 1. *p.* 391, &c.

came to *Emeſa*, *Sampſigeramus* the Prieſt of *Venus*, having collected a haſty Army of the Country-men of that Province, placed himſelf in the Head of them in his Prieſtly Habit; which created him Reſpect from all who ſaw him, particularly from the King of *Perſia*, to whom he ſaid he was ſent an Empaſſador: Upon which, while the King was diſcourſing him, one of the Boors threw a Stone from his Sling, and hitting *Sapores* in the Forehead, ſlew him; whereupon the Army believing that the *Romans* were falling on their Camp, left all their Booty, and fled, *Sampſigeramus* purſuing them; and that while the ſcattered *Perſians* were making their eſcape, *Enathus* a Confederate of the *Romans*, the King of the Barbarous *Saracens*, and Lord of that part of *Arabia*, met them upon the Borders, and deſtroy'd the remainders of that ſcatter'd Army, as *Domninus* the Chronologer of *Antioch* affirms, to whom *Malela* gives credit; while *Philoſtratus* the Hiſtorian (as the ſame *Malela* confeſſes) who liv'd a Contemporary with thoſe Princes, gives a different Account; That after *Sapores* had

had made ſuch great Devaſtations in *Syria*, had ravag'd *Cilicia* and burnt all her eminent Cities, (*Domninus* ſays, the King went not in Perſon, but ſent *Spates* his General with an Army to commit thoſe Outrages,) as he was returning through *Cappadocia* into *Perſia*, *Enathus* the King of the *Saracens* came forth to meet him, and pay the Reſpects of a Confederate, and at length ſlew him. But to ſet the Hiſtory in its true Light, it will be requiſite to take a ſhort View of the State of the Empire at that time.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

THE Roman Intereſt in the Eaſt having been ſinking for ſome years after the Death of *Gordianus*, under his Succeſſor *Philip*, who was alſo his Murtherer, as alſo under *Decius*, *Gallus*, and *Æmilianus*; *Valerian*, and his Son *Gallienus*, were choſen to wear the Purple; the *Perſians* in the mean time ravaging the Eaſt, as the *Scythians* over-ran and pillag'd the reſt of the Empire.

This Devaſtation continued for ſome years, till at laſt *Valerian* marcht againſt the *Scythians*, who had taken *Chalcedon*, burnt the City of *Nice*, and pillag'd and ſet fire to the famous Temple of *Diana* at *Epheſus*; and after that, he attempted to drive the *Perſians* out of their New Conqueſts, *Anno Chriſti*, 260, but very unfortunately; for having engag'd his Troops in thoſe vaſt Deſarts, where the Rays of the Sun were very fervent, and few places afforded Water ſufficient for an Army, and Forage and Proviſions muſt be brought from

from a great diſtance, *Valerian* ſent Embaſſadors to *Sapores*, loaden with Gold, to buy a Peace: But the cruel and crafty Monarch knowing the neceſſitous Condition of the Roman Army, and being incens'd, that *Valerian*, in his *Letters*, had not treated him with all the Pompous Titles which the *Perſians* Kings uſed to aſſume to themſelves, detain'd the Embaſſadors for a while in Priſon, till he had gotten all his Forces in a readineſs to March, and then diſmiſt them, with this Anſwer, That if *Valerian* would give him a Meeting, they would agree upon Articles among themſelves, that ſhould be for the Common Good of both Empires. To this Meeting, *Valerian*, preſt by the Neceſſity of his Affairs, very imprudently aſſented: but as he was purſuing his Journey, accompanied only with a few Attendants, he was ſeiz'd on by the *Perſian* Soldiers, and made a Priſoner; *Sapores* uſing him with all rigour and contempt, ſetting his Foot on his Neck every time he mounted his Horſe, till after ſome years he flea'd him, and ſo put an end to his miſerable Life.

Eclogæ Legat. Petii Patricii, p. 29.

Zoſim. l. 1. *p.* 32.

In

In this Expedition, *Odenathus*, (who, during the Reigns of *Decius*, *Trebonianus*, *Gallus*, and *Voluſianus*, while the *Perſians* had ſeiz'd and pillag'd *Meſopotamia*, *Syria*, and the adjacent Provinces, had probably join'd himſelf to to the Conquering Party, and acknowledg'd the Juriſdiction of the *Perſians*, not being able, alone, and unaſſiſted, to oppoſe ſo great a Power,) ſeeing the *Roman* Emperor engaged in Perſon in the Head of a puiſſant Army for the recovery of the Eaſt, and knowing that his Anceſtors had received many ſignal Favours from the Emperors, Predeceſſors to *Valerian*, was eaſily perſuaded to declare for the *Roman* Intereſt. But when *Valerian* was taken Captive, *Odenathus* bethought himſelf, and endeavour'd to make his Peace, having found the *Perſian* Monarch ſo much Superior to the *Roman*. Whereupon, being convinced of the neceſſity he was under to ſmooth the Mind of that haughty Prince, he form'd an Embaſſie, loaded ſeveral Camels with moſt noble Preſents, eſpecially of ſuch things which *Perſia* did not produce, and ſent them to *Sapores* with the moſt ſubmiſ-

ſive Letters, affirming, That in the whole War he had not been an Enemy to that Great King. But the proud *Perſian* commanded his Servants to throw the Preſents into the River, and tearing the Letters, he trampled them under his Feet, expreſſing himſelf in an angry Tone to this purpoſe, *Who is this inſolent Man, and from whence, that he dares write his Letters to his Liege Lord and Sovereign? If he intends to alleviate his Puniſhment, let him come hither with his Hands tied behind his Back, fall at my Feet, and beg my Pardon; but if he refuſes, let him know, that I will deſtroy him and his Family, and ruine his Country.*

What effect this ſharp Anſwer had upon the Prince of *Palmyra*, we want Information; but I doubt not, he diſſembled his Reſentment, made the beſt Terms he could for himſelf, and waited an Opportunity to revenge the Injury; which, in a few years offer'd it ſelf, when *Gallienus* gave him his Commiſſion to inſult the *Perſians*.

To ſupport the Opinion, That *Odenathus* was was an Ally, if not a Subject of the *Perſians*, before *Valerian* attempted

attempted the recovery of the Eaſt out of their hands, *Trebellius Pollio* affirms, That when *Cyriades* pretended to the Empire, he robb'd his Father of a vaſt Summ of Silver and Gold, and with it fled to the *Perſians*; and having inſinuated himſelf into the Affections of *Sapores*, and entred into a Confederacy with him, incited him to make War upon the *Romans*, after he had engaged *Odenathus* in the ſame Deſign; that he took *Antioch* and *Cæſarea*, and made himſelf, either by downright Force, or the Terror of his Arms, Lord of the Eaſt; whereupon he aſſum'd the Title of *Auguſtus*: But when *Valerian* came into the Eaſt, he was ſlain by his Soldiers. This Allyance he made with the King of *Perſia* (ſays * *Triſtan*) in the Firſt or Second Year of *Valerian*, in the Fourth (ſays *Mezzobarba*,) and he reign'd at leaſt two years, ſay the † Coines. But *Salmaſius* will not allow, that *Odenathus* was concerned in this Attempt upon *Syria*; but *Odomaſtes* (perhaps *Oromaſtes*) whom he ſuppoſes a General, or a Tributary Prince to the *Perſian*; though it is not altogether improbable, but the Prince of *Palmyra*

* *Tom.* 3. *pag.* 25.

† *Goltz. Theſaur. p.* 72.

might be engaged in this Deſign, not only because in League with the *Perſian*, but alſo, becauſe being an Ambitious, Politick and Warlike Prince, he was willing to enlarge his Limits, and to take the Advantage of the diſtracted Eſtate of the *Roman* Empire at that time, to make Additions to his own Territories. But when *Valerian* was marching into the Eaſt, and *Cyriades* was ſlain, then he bethought himſelf, and in good time changed his Party, and declared for the *Romans*: Which enraged *Sapores*, and gave occaſion to him to upbraid *Odenathus*, when *Valerian* was made Priſoner, with his Apoſtaſie from his Duty.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

THE Wings of the *Roman Eagle* having been thus deplumed, and the Glory of the Empire eclip'ſt, while *Valerian* wore the Chains, and daily ſuffer'd the Inſolences of the King of *Perſia*, it might have been with Juſtice expected that *Gallienus* ſhould have exerted his utmoſt Powers to releaſe his Father, and ſet his Country and Subjects free. But inſtead of applying himſelf to ſuch becoming Undertakings, which would have given new Life to his People, and new Lawrels to himſelf, (who had in the beginning of his Reign behaved himſelf like a Man of Courage and Conduct,) he gave himſelf up to all manner of Voluptuouſneſs, and permitted the Commonwealth to be ſhipwrackt, inaſmuch as he not only neglected to make an attempt for his Father's Releaſe, (while, by the *Barbarians*, the neighbouring Princes, who were Confederate with the *Perſians*, *Sapores* was ſollicited with all earneſtneſs to ſet him at liberty, and to make a

* *Aurel. Victor. Cæſſ.* p. 155.

Peace, of which the Letters ſtill extant in *Trebellius Pollio* are an undeniable Demonſtration; while alſo the *Bactrians*, *Iberians*, *Albanians*, and *Tauroſcythæ*, wrote to the *Roman* Generals, promiſing their Aſſiſtance to redeem him out of an ignominious Slavery,) but ſuffer'd the *Goths*, *A.D.*261. ſay the *Faſti Idatiani*; but *Caſſiodore* ſays, *Anno* 263. to over-run all *Thrace*, *Macedon*, and *Achaia*, with the neighbouring Provinces, one Party of them ravaging *Illyricum*, and pillaging all its Cities, another invading *Italy*, and marching to the very Gates of *Rome*, while the *Parthians* made their Inroads into *Meſopotamia*, and the *Syrian* Banditti harraſt the *Eaſt*, * inſomuch as the Conſiderate part of Mankind thought the World near its End, (and the ſad Effects of thoſe Eruptions were viſible, in the Ruines of many a Noble City and Country, almoſt Two hundred Years after, both in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, ſays † *Oroſius*,) while every bold Pretender durſt ſet up his Title to the Empire in the *Weſt*, who could defend his Uſurpation with his Sword; his Father *Valerian* languiſhing all the while under a ſevere

*Zoſim. l.*1. *p.* 34.

* *Aug. Ep.* 80.

† *Lib.* 7. *cap.* 22.

ſevere Captivity, till his Age and his Afflictions had cover'd him with Grey Hairs. *Treb. Pol.* p. 175.

When the Affairs of the Empire were in this perplext eſtate, and their Intereſt at the loweſt ebb, *Gallienus* having deſerted the Care of the Republick, ſauntred away his Time idlely, or ſpent it ridiculouſly in the Company of Rope-dancers and Stage-players, and laught at the loſs of many a fertile and rich Province; while *Poſthumus* maintained its Grandeur in the *Weſt*, and preſerved *Gallia*; and *Odenathus* in the *Eaſt* attackt and ſubdu'd the *Perſians*. For when that ſenſeleſs Emperor ſaw himſelf ſo miſerably oppreſt on all hands, awaken'd by the Out-cryes of his People, he for a little while rouz'd himſelf out of his Lethargy, and look'd about him; and ſeeing all at ſtake, requeſted *Odenathus*, the Governor-General, or Prætor, of *Palmyrene*, and Confederate of the *Romans*, (the Prince of that Country, ſays *Trebellius Pollio*,) to drive the *Perſians* out of the *Roman* Territories: *Odenathus* conſider'd, that if he did not interpoſe, it would be impoſſible but that *Sapores* would in a *Eutrop. l. 9.* §. 10. *Treb. Pol.* p. 178, 179. *Zoſim. l. 1.* pag. 36. *Zonar. T. 2.* p. 235, 237.

ſmall time, under ſo negligent a Prince as *Gallienus*, have made himſelf Maſter of the World, and that his own Native Country muſt neceſſarily have been made an Appendage of that Empire; and for this reaſon, as well as to revenge the Affront offer'd him in the Slight put on his Embaſſadors, he join'd his Forces to the remains of the *Roman* Army, who ſtill continued to ſupport the Reputation of that Auguſt Empire in the *Eaſt*: And in this difficult Undertaking he behaved himſelf with ſo much Addreſs, and ſuch an extraordinary Courage, that he humbled the Pride of the Greateſt of the Eaſtern Monarchs in the midſt of all his Glory and Triumphs: For he firſt fell upon the *Perſian* General, and having routed him, recover'd *Niſibis* and *Meſopotamia* out of the Hands of the Invaders; then attack't the King of *Perſia* with a Succeſs ſuitable to his Bravery; for as *Sapores* was returning home, loaden with the Spoils of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, *Odenathus* came out to meet him, as one of his Allyes; but under that pretext he deluded him, having way-lay'd him as he paſt through *Euphrateſia* (call'd

Philoſtr. ap. Malel. par. 1. p. 393. & Zonar. Tom. 2. p. 237. Agath. l. 4. p. 134.

(call'd of old *Commagene*, ſays *Procopius*; *Auguſto-Euphrateſia*, by *Theodorit* a Biſhop of that Country,) ſo ſtreightned him, that being to march through a Valley whoſe Ways were too ſteep and rugged for his Carriages, he ſlew all his Priſoners, and threw them into the Hollows, and by that means paſt over his heavy Baggage. After this, he fought and routed the Army of the *Perſians*, and made ſo great a ſlaughter of their Troops, that * *Peter* the Hiſtorian, a Man of the Senatorian Dignity, and Embaſſador to *Choſroes* King of *Perſia*, affirms, That when *Sapores* had paſt the *Euphrates* with the remains of his ſhatter'd Army, his Soldiers thinking themſelves ſecure, by their ſtation on the other ſide of the River, embraced one another with unexpreſſible Tranſports: After which, *Sapores* ſent to the Garriſon at *Edeſſa*, promiſing them to give them all the Money which he had plunder'd in *Syria*, if they would not moleſt him in his March, but ſuffer him quietly to haſten Home through their Territory; ſubjoyning, that he did not offer them this great Summ, as if he were afraid of them

* *Delegationib. p.* 45.

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* *Delegationib. p.* 45.

them, but that he might make the more ſpeed into *Perſia*, to celebrate a great Feſtival that he was near, not being willing to be hinder'd in his Deſign. To this the Garriſon conſented, receiv'd the Money, and gave him leave to paſs by the City unmoleſted.

By this Victory, *Odenathus* not only preſerv'd the *Roman* Territories in the *Eaſt*, and defended the Limits, but recover'd ſeveral Cities which the *Perſians* had uſurpt, and made his Inroads as far as *Cteſiphon*, the Royal Seat of thoſe Eaſtern Princes, obliging them to quit their other Conqueſts, to defend their Wives and Children. In this Expedition alſo he made himſelf Maſter of the Treaſures of that Great Monarch; and of what thoſe Kings held more valuable and more precious than all their Wealth, his Concubines; and at the ſame time he took many of the Nobility Priſoners. This was ſo Meritorious an Action, that the * *Roman* Hiſtorian confeſſes, That without this Interpoſition, the Intereſt of the Empire had been entirely ſunk in the *Eaſt*: And withal, he informs us, That *Odenathus* aſſumed the Name of *King*, before

* *Trib. Pol.* p. 192.

fore he rais'd his Army, (though the Greek Writers allow him to have only been declar'd General of the *Eaſt*, an Honorary Truſt conferr'd on none but Perſons of the beſt Condition and Qualifications,) that his Wife *Zenobia*, his eldeſt Son *Herod*, and his two younger Sons *Herennianus* and *Timolaus*, accompany'd him, when (*Anno Chriſti*, 246.) he fought and routed that Potent Monarch, and recover'd the Territories that he had uſurped on this ſide the River.

To reward theſe brave Services, *Gallienus* declar'd him *Auguſtus*, and his Copart'ner in the Empire, (ſo that the Hiſtorians with great injuſtice reckon *Odenathus* and his Son *Herodian* among the Tyrants, as if they had been Uſurpers, who ought to have been inſerted into the Catalogue of the Lawful Emperors,) and commanded Money to be ſtamp't in his Name, the reverſe of which repreſented the Captive *Perſians* following his Triumphant Chariot: The Senate, the City, and all the People of *Rome*, being wonderfully pleas'd with the Performance. *Treb. Pol.* p. 180.

This

This Declaration of *Gallienus* intitled *Odenathus* to the Poſſeſſion of the *Eaſt*, while his illuſtrious Atchievements prov'd him worthy of the Purple: And accordingly, upon his return from *Cteſiphon*, he aſſum'd the Habit and Style, and Declar'd his Son *Herodes* his Co-part'ner in the Empire, and *Princeps Juventutis*; as, beſides the Hiſtorians, the Coins do fully declare.

CHAP. XIV.

Odenathus having thus atton'd for the Negligence of *Gallienus*, ſupported the ſinking Fortune of that Auguſt Empire, and preſerv'd his own Native Country in its own Quiet and Freedom, and behav'd himſelf with ſo dextrous an Addreſs, and ſuch an extraordinary Courage, that he humbled the Pride of the Greateſt of the Eaſtern Monarchs, and acquir'd a great Reputation to his Arms; and having ſpent ſome time in ſettling his new Conqueſts,

queſts, (though he fail'd of his main Enterprize of releaſing *Valerian*, who was, upon this Irruption of the *Palmyrenians*, ſlain by *Sapores*,) at the Requeſt of *Gallienus*, he undertook to ſuppreſs *Macrianus*, who had, in Oppoſition to *Gallienus*, Declar'd himſelf Emperor in *Phœnicia*, (though *Euſebius* avers, that himſelf did not aſſume the Purple, but that he made his Sons Emperors,) and was acknowledg'd by the *Roman* Army under his Command. But *Macrianus* having baffled the *Scythians*, and driven them out of *Achaia*, was retir'd with his Eldeſt Son, of his own Name, into *Illyricum*, where, in a pitch't Battel, they were both ſlain by *Aureolus*, another of the Pretenders to the Empire: But *Macrianus* had left *Quietus* the Younger of his Sons in the Eaſt, with the Title of *Auguſtus*, under the Conduct of *Baliſta* an Experienced General. *Baliſta* was the *Præfectus Prætorio* to the Emperor *Valerian*, a Captain of rare Capacity, and ſingular Courage, of great Wiſdom and Foreſight, and as great Reſolution and Bravery; he was General of the Horſe under *Macrianus* in the Eaſt. And when *Macrianus* left

Treb. Pol. p. 192.
Zonar. T. 2. *p.* 237.
Zonar. Syncel. p. 382.
Treb. Pol. p. 176.

that Country, he, with *Quietus* the Second Son of *Macrianus*, managed the War with ſo much Courage and good Fortune, that while he attack't *Sapores* on one hand, and *Odenathus* on the other, they drove him to take ſhelter in the Deſarts of *Perſia*; upon which Victory they aſſumed the Title of Emperors, which engaged *Gallienus* againſt them: Therefore *Odenathus* march't and fought them at *Emeſa*, where *Baliſta* fell by the Sword of *Odenathus*, *Quietus* by the Hands of the Citizens of *Emeſa*, ſays *Zonaras*; while *Trebellius*
Pag. 116. *Pollio* in one place affirms, That after the Army was routed, the Soldiers ſeiz'd both *Quietus* and *Baliſta*, and deliver'd them to *Odenathus*, who ſlew
Pag. 194. them: but in another place he ſays, That the common report was (few Writers accounting for *Baliſta*'s Actions, after he was Declar'd Emperor, while they treat more largely of his Performances, while he was *Præfectus Prætorio* of the *Eaſt*) that he was ſlain by a Private Sentinel of *Odenathus*'s Army, as he was ſleeping in his Tent: but in
Pag. 176. a third place he affirms, That the Army of *Quietus*, inſtigated by *Baliſta*,

liſta, ſlew the young Prince, and having thrown his Body over the Walls of *Emeſa*, immediately ſurrender'd: Others (as he ſays) affirming, That *Odenathus* having ſlain *Quietus*, gave *Baliſta* his Life; but that *Baliſta*, not daring to truſt either *Gallienus*, *Aureolus*, or *Odenathus*, aſſum'd the Imperial Purple. Nor does the Report want Authors, that he was ſlain at *Daphne*, near *Antioch*, at a Farm which he had purchaſed, where he lived a private life: while very many others averr, That having Declar'd himſelf Emperor, he was murther'd by thoſe whom *Aureolus* ſent to apprehend *Quietus*, whom he demanded as part of his Plunder, having ſlain his Father, and Elder Brother. The Accounts even of thoſe Times being ſo various, it cannot be expected that the Writers of the preſent Age ſhould better adjuſt the Hiſtory, while we are obliged to the Information of the Coins, that *Baliſta* reign'd Three Years at leaſt, and that his Name was *Servius Anicius* (or *Sergius Anicetus*) *Baliſta*. Whatever his Fate was, as to his Titles, he was an Illuſtrious Perſon, happy in his Undertakings, and had a ſingular

Pag. 193.

Goltz. Theſ. p. 72.

ſingular Faculty in providing his Army with Proviſions and Neceſſaries; and ſo well vers'd in Politicks, that *Valerian* acknowledged, that he had learn'd the Rules of Government from *Baliſta*, and that he was one of the moſt Provident and moſt Experienced Generals of the Age. But whether he was that *Calliſtus* whom *Zonaras* affirms to have been choſen by the *Roman* Troops their General, after the Captivity of *Valerian*, and who, when he ſaw the *Perſians* careleſly wandring up and down, as if they had no more Enemies to conquer, fell upon them, and routed them, I will not determine, though it be highly probable, the Names being very like (*Calliſtus*, and *Baliſtas*,) and the exploits ſeem to be the ſame. But in this one Circumſtance *Zonaras* is miſtaken, who attributes the Taking the Baggage and Concubines of *Sapores* to *Calliſtus*, which was the Atchievement of *Odenathus*.

When *Odenathus* had thus compleated the Conqueſt of the *Eaſt*, and wreſted it out of the Hands both of the *Roman* Rebels, and the *Perſian* Uſurpers, * he gave an exact Narrative of all his Proceedings

* *Treb. Pol.* p. 176, 179.

ceedings to *Gallienus*, and ſent him the *Perſian* Nobility, whom he had taken Priſoners: And that beſotted Prince had the confidence to triumph at *Rome*, for the Victories which *Odenathus* got in *Euphrateſia*.

Immediately upon this, *Odenathus* being a Captain of indefatigable Courage, and great Expedition, engaged himſelf in the Expulſion of the *Goths*, who made their Irruptions into *Phrygia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Galatia*, and threatned the *Eaſt*. But having march'd through *Cappadocia* to *Heraclea* of *Pontus*, the *Scythians*, terrify'd with the Name of the Illuſtrious General, retired; but as he was preparing to purſue them, he was moſt unfortunately and moſt barbarouſly murder'd. *The Anger of God againſt the Roman Commonwealth being moſt viſibly ſeen; becauſe, after* Valerian *was ſlain, he would not reſerve* Odenathus *for its Preſervation.*

Sincel ubi ſup.

Treb. Pol. p. 184.

CHAP. XV.

THE Manner of *Odenathus* his Death is differently related, tho' the Historians agree in the main. * *Malela*, (*a*) after his fabulous wont, affirms, That he was slain by *Gallienus*. † *Zosimus*, That while he was at *Emisa*, celebrating either his own, or some Friend's Birth-Day, he was by Treachery murthered. But the generality of Writers assert, That *Odenathus*, with his Son *Herodes*, were slain as they were about to pursue the *Scythians*, who fled before them: That the Parricide who made the Assassination, was his Kinsman, his Brother's Son, *Mœonius*; whom *Syncellus* calls *Odænathus* (probably according to the Mode of that Time and Country, *Mœonius Odænathus*:) and that he, for a few days after, assum'd the Title of *Emperor*,

* *Ubi supr.*

† *L.1.p.36.*

(*a*) The Paragraph in *Malela* is so confus'd, and is such a Jumble of the Actions of *Gallienus*, *Odenathus* and *Aurelian*, that I cannot but profess, I should rather attribute the Mistakes to the Transcriber or Interpolator, than to the Author, though so great a Fabler.

(as

(as appears by the Coins,) but that he was ſuddenly diſpatcht by thoſe very Soldiers who had been wheadled to cloath him with the Imperial Purple. So fell the moſt Unjuſt of Men to his Relations, the moſt Diſloyal Traytor to his Prince, the moſt Ungrateful Villain to his Benefactor, and the moſt Profligate of Wretches.

Mæonius was induced to imbrue his Hands in the Blood of his King, his Relation, and his Friend; inſtigated (ſay ſome) by *Zenobia*, who, to diſpatch a Son-in-Law, that hinder'd her Children from ſucceeding to the Empire of the *Eaſt*, (for *Herodes*, or *Herodian*, was the Son of *Odenathus* by a former Wife,) was content at the ſame time to ſee her Husband ſtabb'd. But more probably he committed the execrable Murther, being inſtigated by the moſt malicious of Tempers, and an abominable mixture of Envy and Ambition; this prompted him to deſtroy one of the beſt of Emperors, upon the pretext, that his Son *Herod* was a Man of extraordinary Softneſs and Delicacy, (as Men who are naturally Kind and Good-natur'd, are apt to be Effeminate. Voluptuous

Pol.p. 192, 193. *Cuſpin.Caeſ. p.* 74.

and Amorous,) and becauſe his Father had given him all the King of *Perſia*'s Concubines, all his Treaſures, and all the Gems taken in the War: Or rather, upon an old Grudge; for the fierce Young Man accompanying his Uncle in his Manly Exerciſe of Hunting, preſum'd, the firſt of the Company, to throw his Javelin at the Wild Beaſt that was rouz'd; and being reproved for it by his Uncle, that Honour being reſerv'd for the moſt Eminent Perſon of the Hunt) in contempt of the Reprimand, perſiſted to gratifie his own Humour, and committed the ſame Crime a ſecond and a third time: Whereupon, *Odenathus* ordered him to be diſmounted, and his Horſe taken from him, (which was the greateſt Affront that could be offer'd to a Man of Quality in that Country.) Upon this, the hot Spark could not forbear expreſpreſſing his Reſentments, and threatning Revenge. Whereupon he was confin'd: but in a little time, at the Interceſſion of *Herodes*, *Odenathus* ſet him at liberty. But the Pardon was as uneaſily digeſted as the Affront, (the injur'd Perſon may be inclined to remit the Offence;

Zonar. T. 2. p. 237.

Offence; but he who does the Wrong, never forgives;) for he watch't his Opportunity, and imbru'd his Hands in the Blood of both his King, and his Advocate.

Thus fell that Great Prince and his Eldeſt Son, both Emperors, after *Odenathus* had Reigned Four Years, (and *Herodes* at leaſt Three, as the Coins expreſly prove; it being probable, that *Odenathus* wore the Purple ſome time after *Gallienus* declar'd him Emperor, before he aſſum'd *Herodes* to be his Copartner in his Government,) leaving his Crown and Scepter by Right to his Grandſon *Vaballathus*, but in the Poſſeſſion of, and *de Facto* to *Zenobia*, and her Sons *Herennianus* and *Timolaus*. Vid. *Append.*

CHAP. XVI.

Odenathus was murther'd the ſame Year that *Gallienus* was ſlain, but ſome time before him. For, *Anno Chriſti* 260, *Valerian* was taken, in the Sixth Year of his Reign; after which, the *Perſians* managed the Affairs of the *Eaſt* according to their own Will and Pleaſure. *Valerian*'s Son, and his Copart'ner in the Empire, *Gallienus*, being loſt in the mazes of his Vices, and ſo devoted to his Pleaſures, that his Name was not ſo much as mention'd in the Army, who ſeem'd to have forgotten him, as entirely as he had forgotten himſelf, and all Princely Qualifications; for he rejoyc'd at his Father's Captivity, which clad all *Rome* in Mourning, and cover'd every Wiſe Man with Tears; and diverted himſelf with Stage-plays, Horſe-races, and the Combats of the Gladiators; in making himſelf Beds of Roſes to wallow in, in the Summer-time; and Beds of Melons, to gratifie his Palate in the Winter; in building Caſtles of Apples, and

Treb. Pol. p. 176, 182.

and other Fruits, and exerciſing his noble Courage in attacking them; in finding out Methods how to Preſerve Grapes Sound and Untainted three Years, and Wines always in the Muſte, Figs always Green, and Apples Ripe in every Month in the Year; as if he had been born a Slave to his Belly and his Pleaſures. He ſpent all his time in Riot and Luxury, in Wine and Women; never would drink, but out of a Golden Bowl (deſpiſing Glaſs, becauſe common and cheap,) and every time chang'd his Wine: his Concubines ſate at the ſame Table with him; and at the next Table to him, his Buffoons, Paraſites and Jeſters. His Cloaths were foreign, and different from the Habit of the *Roman* Princes his Predeceſſors; his Hair powder'd with Gold, and his Head crown'd with Rays; while his moſt intimate Privy-Counſellers were the *Roman* Ladies. And in this diſſolute Courſe he lived till the Year of Chriſt, 264. when *Odenathus* undertook and revenged the Quarrel, and baffled and put to flight the formidable Hoſt, In which Year, it is very probable, the *Perſian* King, enraged at his loſs of

Honour, Spoils, and Conquer'd Territories, put *Valerian* to Death. *Anno* 268, *Odenathus* was murther'd, and the ſame year *Gallienus* was ſlain. For thus the
Treb. Pol. p. 184. * Hiſtorian ſtates his Accompts of Time: "Whereas *Valerian* and his "Son reign'd Fifteen Years, in the "Sixth *Valerian* was taken Priſoner "by the *Perſians*; after which, *Gal-* "*lienus* reign'd Nine Years, ſome ſay "Ten: For its certain, that he cele- "brated his *Decennalia* at *Rome*; and "after that, overcame the *Goths*, made "a Peace with *Odenathus*, an Agree- "ment with *Aureolus*, and overcame "*Poſthumus* and *Lollianus*. — After which, he was ſlain near *Milan*, by the Hand of *Cerronius* (or *Cecropius*) the General of the *Dalmatian* Troops.

What the Quarrel was between *Gallienus* and *Odenathus*, and upon what Reaſons, no Hiſtorian, that I know of, gives any Account: but perhaps the Coins hint it; for in thoſe of *Gallienus*, *Anno Chriſti* 266, a year and more before *Odenathus* was murthered, there often occurs *Pax Augg. Concordia Augg.* (with two Right Hands joined.) 'Tis true, *Mezzobarba* underſtands the Inſcriptions

ſcriptions, of the Union between *Gallienus* and the junior *Valerian*; but beſides that *Valerian* was not Emperor till the next year after thoſe Coins were ſtampt, *Anno Chriſti* 267, as *Mezzobarba* himſelf confeſſes, we never read of any Diſpute between them; for the Younger *Valerian* was a Prince of excellent Temper and Modeſty; but a Quarrel there was between *Odenathus* and *Gallienus* (as *Trebellius Pollio* ſays expreſly.) Much leſs can I interpret the Coins to have relation to *Valerian* the Father, as Monſieur *Patin* does; for long before this year, *Valerian* was a Priſoner in *Perſia*, and probably murthered.

It muſt be confeſt, that there is great variety of Opinions concerning the Age of *Valerian*; and that it is very difficult to adjuſt the preciſe time of his Death, which happen'd at ſo great a diſtance from *Rome*, and in a Country at open War with the Emperor, which precluded all Communication. But I ſhall endeavour to fix the Time. * Monſieur *Triſtan* ſays expreſly, That *Valerian* was born *An. V. C.* 937. *Anno Chriſti* 185; and that

* *Tom.* 3. *pag.* 1.

that he was murthered *an. æt.* 75, *Chriſti* 260, the very year in which he was made a Priſoner. But the whole Aſſertion is precarious, and built upon the wrong Suppoſition, That he lived but 75 years, and was flea'd the very year in which he was taken.

Signior *Mezzobarba* affirms, that he was ſlain *an. æt.* 77. but fixes no year either from the Building of *Rome*, or from our Bleſſed Saviour's Birth. The Writers of the Imperial Hiſtory of thoſe Times ſay only in general, that he lived to a great Age in the ſtate of Captivity: While the Writer of the *Chronicon*, commonly call'd the *Alexandrian*, allows him to have lived but 61 years; but expreſly affirms, that he reign'd 14 years, and that he was put to death by the *Perſians* when *Claudius* and *Paternus* were Conſuls, *Anno Chriſti* 263.

Moſt of the Old *Faſti* averr, that *Valerian* and *Gallienus* reign'd 15 years; and ſo does *Trebellius Pollio*; and that *Valerian* was taken by the *Perſians*, *Gallieno* 7. & *Sabinillo Coſſ. Anno Chriſti* 266. (as *Idatius* declares.)

Among all which Writers, there is

is great Variety, but little Truth; while its plain to me, that *Valerian* was alive when *Odenathus* firſt took Arms for his Releaſe (and ſo could not be put to Death the ſame year in which he was taken.) *Trebellius Pollio* expreſly affirming, that *Odenathus* exerted his utmoſt Vigour; and attended to nothing elſe but that *Valerian* might recover his Liberty. And the ſame Author as expreſly avers, that *Valerian* was dead before *Odenathus* was murthered: *The Anger of God* (as he ſays) *appearing viſibly againſt the* Roman *Commonwealth, in that after* Valerian *was ſlain, he would not ſuffer* Odenathus *to live.* I am therefore of the Opinion of the learned Monſieur *Patin*, that as ſoon as *Sapores* had experimented, to his coſt, the Bravery and Conduct of the King of *Palmyra*, and underſtood that his Deſign was to reſtore the Captive *Valerian* to his Liberty, from an ignominious Slavery; then his Rage tranſported him to that barbarous and inhumane Act of Cruelty, *A. C.* 264; and if we may credit the Coin in *Goltzius*, he was Deify'd after his Death. But enough of this Digreſſion; let us return to *Zenobia*.

Pag. 179.

Pag. 184.

Pag. 405.

Theſaur. p. 70.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

SEptimia *Zenobia* (for ſo ſhe was call'd, and for the knowledge of her firſt Name we are wholly obliged to the Coins) being thus left by her Husband the Empreſs of the *Eaſt*, (for as ſhe follow'd him in all his Wars, ſo ſhe accompany'd him in his Expedition againſt the *Goths*, when he was aſſaſſinated at *Heraclea*,) and acknowledg'd to be ſo by the Army (after they had diſpatch't her Ephemerous Competitor *Mœonius*, a Man of the looſeſt Manners, profuſe Luxury, and an ungovernable Temper) managed that vaſt Empire with a Bravery and Conduct truly Heroick, and above her Sex; and by the Aſſiſtance of the wiſe Miniſters and Generals *Odenathus* left her, kept up the Reputation of her Government, and advanc'd it. She was Prudent and Fair, Learned and Stout; as rigorous as a Tyrant, to thoſe who were perverſe and obſtinate; but humane and kind to all who were ready to live under Laws and Diſcipline.

pline. She ſurpaſt even her Husband, who was one of the moſt Illuſtrious Perſonages in the World, in Courage, Magnanimity, and every generous Quality. In a word, ſhe was an *addroit* Accompliſh't Lady, who had all the tranſcendent Qualities that would create her the Eſteem of the World, and render her worthy the Nobleſt Throne upon Earth, being of High Birth, Extraordinary Accompliſhments, and the Greateſt Performances.

Her Original was Noble, and the beſt Blood of the *Egyptian* Kings flow'd in her Veins; for ſhe deriv'd her ſelf from the Family of the *Ptolemy's*, and from *Cleopatra*; and had a great Regard for the laſt Queen of *Egypt*, whom with *Dido* and *Semiramis* ſhe celebrated, as the Heroins of their ſeveral Ages; *Zenobia* particularly propoſing to her ſelf the Imitation of all *Cleopatra's* Illuſtrious Qualifications, while ſhe avoided thoſe Vices that eclip'ſt her Glory. Her Mother's Name we are ignorant of, but her Father was *Achilleus* (*Zozimus* calls him *Antiochus*) whom the *Palmyrenians* choſe to be their Prince, when they took Arms againſt *Treb. Pol.* p. 196, 198, 200.

Vopiſc. p. 219.

againſt *Aurelian*. To him, *Zoſimus* ſays, that *Aurelian* gave his Life and Liberty, after he had made him his Priſoner. Nor is it the moſt unpardonable Conjectures, to imagine that he was the Father of *Lucius Epidius Achilleus*, who twenty years afterthe Sack of *Palmyra*, being made Governor of *Egypt*, took upon him the Imperial Purple, and maintained his Pretenſions for ſix years at the leaſt, as the Coins expreſly inform us; and at laſt, after he had been beſieged eight Months in *Alexandria*, was overcome by *Diocleſian* and *Galerius*, and put to death.

Id. p. 192. Her Beauty was as Illuſtrious as her Birth, but Manly and Auguſt, not Soft and Effeminate; *Cornelius Capitolinus* affirming, that ſhe was the Handſomeſt of all the Eaſtern Ladies, (though *Syria* were famous for Beauties, more than one of the *Roman* Empreſſes owing their Birth to that Country:) Her

Pag. 199. Face was of a Browniſh colour, (and 'tis no wonder that ſhe appear'd ſo at *Rome*, who in *Palmyrene* had been inur'd to march in the Head of her Army, on foot, ſeveral miles at a time, where the Rays of the Sun were ſo fervent and ſo

trouble-

troubleſom.) Her Eyes Black and Sparkling, her Mien Divine, her Charms Irreſiſtable; her Teeth of ſuch an extraordinary Whiteneſs, that ſome Men thought them Pearls: Her Voice Clear and Maſculine: And all her Shapes Regular and Lovely.

And with her Beauty, ſhe had Youth and Vigour; for after her Captivity, ſhe was marry'd at *Rome*, and there had Children by a Man of the Senatorian Dignity.

But all the Symmetry of her Face, and the Beauties of her Mien, were not fit to ſtand in competition with the more raviſhing Accompliſhments of her Mind.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

Plut. M. Anton. p. 1698. & paſſ. edit. Steph.

HEr Anceſtor *Cleopatra* was a Lady of great Wit, and many Languages; ſo that ſhe ſeldom made uſe of an Interpreter, but her ſelf anſwered all Foreigners that petition'd her in their own Languages, *Æthiopians*, *Troglodytes*, *Jews*, *Arabs*, *Syrians*, *Medes* and *Parthians*; whereas her Predeceſſors hardly underſtood the Speech of their own Country, the *Greek* and the *Coptick*; and all this variety was recommended by a charming Delivery; her Words flowing with a delicate Sweetneſs, intermixt with a becoming Raillery: The ſeveral Languages which ſhe ſpake, were like the ſeveral Notes of a well-tun'd Lute; every thing that ſhe ſaid, was harmonious, and gave a new pleaſure to all who heard her. And in this Qualification * *Zenobia* ſtrove to imitate that Great Lady; ſhe had ſome knowledge of the *Latin* Tongue, but out of Modeſty uſed it not: but ſhe ſpake *Greek*, and the Language of *Egypt*, in perfection: And ſo

* *Pol.* p. 199.

ſo well skill'd was ſhe in the *Alexandrian* and *Oriental* Hiſtories, that ſhe is ſaid to have written an Epitome of them; and ſhe was alſo acquainted with as much of the *Roman* Affairs, as were treated of in *Greek*. And though ſhe underſtood other Tongues more accurately than the *Latin*, and thought it not worth her while to be a Critick in it; yet ſhe commanded her Sons to inure themſelves to the Language of *Rome*, rather than that of *Greece*, (which they ſpake but ſeldom, and with ſome difficulty,) deſigning them probably, in her ambitious Thoughts, for the Government of that proud City, as ſhe had already declared them Emperors; to which end ſhe had provided her ſelf of a pompous Chariot, in which ſhe intended to have made her triumphant Entry into the Capital of the World, as a Conqueror; while it happen'd that ſhe was carry'd in the ſame *Vopiſc.* Chariot a Captive into that haughty City.

And as ſhe was very Learned her ſelf, ſo ſhe became a declared Patroneſs of Arts, and a Favourer of Scholars. *Longinus* (the beſt Critick of the Age

he liv'd in, and perhaps of any Age, and a Philoſopher of unqueſtionable Reputation) fix'd his Reſidence at the Court of this Heroick Empreſs, was admitted to a ſhare in our Councils, taught her *Greek*, and was probably made the Governor of her Sons: And, could *Longinus* have perſuaded *Porphyry*, whom by Letter he earneſtly invited to *Palmyra* (with the Queen's Allowance, I doubt not) that admirable *Platoniſt* had taſted of her Bounty. as did *Paulus* of *Samoſata*, and other Votaries of Learning in that Age.

* Id. p. 198. *Sec. Salmaſ. correctionem.*

Her Magnificence went an equipage with her Learning and her Charms. From the Coins it appears, that ſhe took the Name of *Auguſta*, managing the Empire not only in her Son's Name (as the Hiſtorian ſays) but in her own: And while *Gallienus* was ſauntring in *Rome* among Fidlers and Players, ſhe kept the State of a *Perſian* Monarch; and to perpetuate her Memory, ſhe built a City on the Banks of the River *Euphrates*, toward the Weſt, five Miles from the Caſtle of *Mambri*, nearer to the *Roman* Territories, but three Days Journey from *Circeſium*, which ſhe call'd

call'd by her own Name, *Zenobia*; which, when in after Ages it fell into decay, was repair'd, fortify'd and beautify'd by *Juſtinian*; and the Place where the Emperor *Aurelian* gave her a Houſe at *Tivoli*, thought it ſelf happy to change its old Name for that of this magnificent Princeſs. *Procop. Perſ. l. 2. c. 5. p. 97. & de Æ-dific. l. 2. c. 8. p. 42, 43.*

Her Court was pompous, her Grandeur eminent, ſhe was ador'd like the *Eaſtern* Kings, and her Treats were as ſplendid as any of thoſe made by the *Roman* Emperors. She uſually wore the Royal Robe, and a Diadem; but when ſhe made a Speech to her Army, ſhe put on a Helmet, and appear'd like a ſecond *Pallas*. Her Cimar was of Purple trimm'd round the Edges with rich Gems, and clasp'd in the middle with a large ſparkling Diamond, inſtead of a Button; her Arm being often bare.

At her Feaſts ſhe was ſerv'd in Gold Plate, enchaſt with Precious-ſtones, after the manner of *Cleopatra*; and choſe to be attended rather by elderly Eunuchs, than Women. And the part ſhe bore in the Triumph of *Aurelian* (than which *Rome* never ſaw any thing

more Pompous) though it demonstrated her great Misfortune, yet was suited to her magnificent Temper; for she was loaded with Gems of the greatest Magnitude and Value, probably the Spoils of her own Cabinet; which, though she were a Lady of a vigorous Constitution, much incommoded her, during the Cavalcade. Her Feet and Hands were chain'd with Golden Fetters; and her Necklace was a massie Gold Chain, the end of which was held up by a *Persian* Buffoon.

She was Chaste to a Miracle, (and in this she differ'd from her Ancestor the Queen of *Egypt*, whose Lewdness blemisht her other Accomplishments,) inasmuch as she never enjoy'd her Husband's Company, but for the sake of Children; and as soon as she found she had Conceiv'd, she retir'd, according to the Custom of the *Jews*, of whom * *Clemens of Alexandria* gives the same Character.

* *Pæd. l. 2. c. 12.*

And in the midst of all her Plenty, her Temperance was admirable, being always sober; though sometimes she used to drink with her Captains, to ingratiate

ingratiate her ſelf to them; and at other times, with the *Armenians* and *Perſians*, the better to dive into their Secrets.

Upon all Occaſions ſhe was very Liberal, and yet managed her Largeſſes with great Prudence; and took more care of her Revenues, than moſt Monarchs uſually do: And this appear'd by the vaſt Summs found in her Coffers, when ſhe fell into the Hands of *Aurelian*.

CHAP. XIX.

Zenobia's Religion was at firſt Pagan; but ſhe forſook the Heathen Polytheiſm, and became a Jeweſs, by whoſe Perſuaſions, I know not, (for *Philaſtrius* was certainly in a Dream, when he aver'd, That *Paulus* of *Samoſata*, Biſhop of *Antioch*, being a Judaizing Chriſtian, and a Teacher of the Neceſſity of Circumciſion, and other Moſaical Rites, perſuaded her to turn Jew: Nor can I acquit Monſieur *Triſtan* *Phot. Cod. σξί. pag. 802. Gr.*

Tom. 3. *p.* 203. of Inadvertency, when he quotes *Photius*, That *Odenathus* alſo quitted the Idolatry in which he had been bred, and turn'd Jew probably upon the Perſuaſions of his Wife; and that there is reaſon to believe, that both of them were converted by *Paulus* of *Samoſata* to Chriſtianity; for all that he ſays, is without Authority, and groundleſs.) But notwithſtanding her Religion, ſhe behav'd her ſelf with great Temper and Meekneſs towards the Chriſtians her Subjects, neither endeavouring to compell their Conſciences, nor to ſeize their Churches. She was a Hater of Perſecution, though ſhe were a New Convert, (and ſuch Perſons are generally very warm, and acted by an extraordinary Zeal,) and though ſhe was of a Religion whoſe Proſelytes have always been Haters of all who differ from them in Principles; for * St. *Athanaſius* ſays, That ſhe was ſo Juſt to the Chriſtians, as not to convert their Churches into Synagogues.

* *Epiſt. ad Solitar.*

Niceph. l. 6. *c.* 27. It is the common Opinion, that ſhe was in a fair way to have embrac'd Chriſtianity, if ſhe had faln into good Hands; that *Paulus* of *Samoſata*, the Patriarch

Patriarch of *Antioch*, undertook the Province, and took great pains therein, (*Zenobia* being an excellent Diſputant, and admirably skill'd in Controverſie,) but having unhappily fallen into the Hereſie of *Artemon*, he infus'd into her Mind very mean Notions of our Bleſſed Saviour, That he was a meer Man, and not of the ſame Nature with God the Father; and that this occaſion'd his Depoſition, and probably the loſs of his deſign'd Diſciple. But it is almoſt indiſputably certain, that all this fair Story is built on a Miſtake of the words of *Theodorit*, who only ſays, That *Paulus* fell into the Hereſie of *Artemon*; and affirm'd, That our Saviour was only a meer Man; by this means deſigning to ingratiate himſelf with, and to flatter *Zenobia*, who was a Jeweſs, and ſo would not allow Jeſus to be God. *Lib. 2. de Hæriſib. n. Paulus.* vid. *Valeſ. in Euſeb. l. 7. c. 30.*

It is plain from the Eccleſiaſtick Hiſtorian, that ſhe had a great regard for *Paul*, that ſhe made him her *Ducenarius*, or Procurator at *Antioch*; and that he affected rather to be called by that Title, than that of Biſhop, being a haughty Man, and a Lover of Secular

Grandeur; but for his Hereſie, and his vain and diſallowable Morals, he was condemn'd by a Synod at *Antioch*, *Anno Chriſti* 166, and the 12th. Year of *Gallienus*, in which year *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria* died: But the proud Patriarch, ſupported by his powerful Patroneſs, deſpiſed the Determination of the Synod. Whereupon, the Catholick Prelates, after *Aurelian*, the declar'd Enemy of *Zenobia*, had aſſum'd the Purple, call'd a Second Synod, depos'd the Heretick, and fill'd the See with *Domnus*, Son of his Predeceſſor *Demetrianus*: But though Condemn'd by two Synods, the Heretick maintain'd his pretended Title to his Juriſdiction, and kept the Poſſeſſion of his Epiſcopal Palace and Revenues, though his Throne were poſſeſs'd by a more Orthodox Prelate. Whereupon, the Synod appeal'd to *Aurelian*, who order'd *Paul* to be Ejected by the Secular Power. So well affected was that Emperor towards the Chriſtian Church at that time, tho' afterwards he chang'd his Behaviour. And it is not the moſt groundleſs of Conjectures, that *Aurelian* was ſo ready to ſerve the Orthodox againſt

Euſeb. l.7. c.28, 29.

againſt the Heretick; becauſe *Paul* was a Favorite and Dependant of *Zenobia* his Enemy, while the Catholicks were his Friends, and good Subjects.

CHAP. XX.

AND now, having accounted for her Religion, I ſhall adventure to deſcribe her Courſe of Life, and Practiſes. She uſed her ſelf to all ſorts of becoming Manly Exerciſe; and ſhew'd, upon all Occaſions, a Hardineſs above that of her ſoft Sex. She often rode on Horſe-back, commonly in a Chariot, ſeldom was carry'd in a Chair, and very frequently march'd three or four miles on foot in the Head of her Army, having inur'd her ſelf to bear the Fatigues of War, the Scorchings of the Sun, and the parch't Sands of the Deſarts: For her Education was like that of her Husband's; and in the opinion of ſome very good Judges, the Wife *Treb. Pol. p.* 192.

Wife was the braver of the two; the moſt Couragious, as well as the Faireſt of her Sex. She often arm'd her Head with a Caſque, and as often aſſiſted at her Councils of War; and ſuch an eſteem ſhe had of true Magnanmity, that ſhe told *Aurelian*, That ſhe accounted *Gallienus* and *Aureolus* Milkſops, but ſhe eſteem'd him qualify'd to make an Emperor of the World; becauſe he was a Stout and Adventurous General. She accompany'd *Odenathus* in all his Expeditions, and was with him when he ſo ſucceſsfully attempted the *Perſians*.

The *Perſians*, it muſt be confeſt, uſed to carry their Wives with them into the Field, but rather for Show and Magnificence, that they might enjoy the pleaſure of ſeeing a fierce Battle fought, and be exempt from all the Hazards of it; but *Zenobia* went into the Field as a great General, and had her ſhare in the Dangers of the Engagement.

And this part of her Auguſt Cha-
Ib. p. 198. racter her Enemy *Aurelian* gave her: For when it was objected to him, That he made a mighty buſtle about a Trifle, when he triumph't over an unfortunate Woman:

Woman: —— He told the Senate, "That they knew not the Accompliſh-"ments of that Great Lady; That ſhe "was Prudent and Politick in her "Councils, and Conſtant to her Reſo-"lutions; That ſhe had an entire and "undiſputed Power over her Army; "was very Liberal, when Neceſſity "requir'd; and very Sharp, when Se-"verity was requiſite; That it was by "her Conduct, that *Odenathus* over-"came the *Perſians*, put *Sapores* to "flight, and march't to the Walls of "*Cteſiphon*; That ſhe made all the *Eaſt*, "and all *Egypt* tremble, when neither "the *Arabs*, nor the *Saracens*, nor the "*Armenians* could affright them; and "and that he gave her her Life, upon "the proſpect that ſuch an extraordi-"nary Heroine, who could preſerve "and manage the vaſt Empire of the "*Eaſt* for her ſelf and Children, would "be of great Advantage to the Com-"monwealth, and teach the *Romans* "the Rules of Conduct and Govern-"ment.

To make good this Character, and to let the World ſee how well the Delicate Sex might be accompliſht for Rule and

and Dominion, ſhe told the Emperor, That if ſhe had ſucceeded in her Attempt, ſhe deſign'd to have conſtituted *Victoria*, the Wife of *Victorinus*, another brave Lady of that Age (who had made more than one Emperor, and took to her ſelf the Title of *Auguſta*, and is ſtiled in the Coins and Hiſtorians, *Mater Caſtrorum*) her Companion in the Royal Dignity, and between them they would have divided the Empire of the World.

The only Fault which I find her charg'd with (except her Fear, when ſhe fell into the Hands of *Aurelian*, which prompted her to diſcover all her Friends and Aſſiſtants to that cruel Prince, who preſently murther'd them, for in this ſhe fell beneath the Great *Cleopatra*,) was her diſlike of her Son-in-Law *Herodes*, whom *Odenathus* had begotten on a former Wife, and that ſhe conſented to his murther, that the Empire might devolve on her own Sons, *Herennianus* and *Timolaus*. But this is reported by only one Hiſtorian; and I cannot believe, that to rid her hands of a Son-in-Law, ſhe would conſent to the Parricide of her Husband, whom

whom ſhe lov'd ſo dearly, and who ſo well deſerv'd it; for they both fell at the ſame time, and by the ſame Hand. But Diamonds have their Flaws; and the richeſt Metals, ſome Alloy.

I have thus endeavoured to ſet this Heroine in a true Light; for it would not have been juſt, to treat a Princeſs of ſuch rare Endowments both of Mind and Body (who was the Ornament of her Sex, and the Wonder of the Age ſhe liv'd in, reverenc'd over all the *Eaſt*, and admir'd even at *Rome* by her bittereſt Adverſaries) with a meager and jejune Character, though the beſt Deſcriptions, even of the ancient Writers, fall below her Merit. And now I ſhall proceed to a more particular Account of her Atchievements.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

Treb. Pol. p. 180, 197. ODenathus and *Herodian* being ſlain, *Zenobia*, during the Minority of her two Sons (who were left very young) *Herennianus* and *Timolaus*, whom ſhe declar'd *Principes Juventutis & Auguſti*, took upon her the Empire, (Monſieur *Patin* ſays, * That *Gallienus* gave her the Title of *Empreſs*, but without Proof: but whether it was given her, or ſhe aſſum'd it, *Theodorit* and *Nicephorus Calliſti* are much miſtaken, who call her only the *Toparch* of the Country, and affirm, that ſhe ow'd her Dominion and Territory to the *Perſians*, who having overcome the *Romans*, gave her the Government of *Syria* and *Phœnice*,) and ſhe manag'd it not like a Woman, nor only better than *Gallienus*, but with more Courage and better Conduct than many famous Emperors, and gave *Gallienus* a Specimen of her Abilities, in a few Months after ſhe had undertook to weild her Scepter. For when the News of *Odenathus*'s Murther was brought to *Rome*, the Emperor, who

* Pag. 430.

who had ſome Courage (for he was an odd mixture of Softneſs and Hardineſs) made Preparations of War, though very late, againſt the *Perſians*, to revenge his Fathers ignominious and barbarous Death; and to this end, ſent an Army under *Heraclianus* the *Præfectus Prætorio*, a famous General, and a true Lover of his Country, into the *Eaſt*. But *Zenobia*, jealous of his Deſign, and reſolv'd neither to dethrone her Sons, nor to deveſt her ſelf of the Imperial Purple, and acknowledge the *Roman* Authority, met him upon the Borders of *Perſia*, fought him, and routed and deſtroyed his whole Army. This General *Heraclian*, **Cuſpinian* calls *Herodian*, by a great Miſtake, affirming, that he was the Governor of *Gallia* (*Dux Galliæ*;) and that he was oppos'd by *Zenobia*, becauſe he made the Expedition into *Perſia* without her Order.

* *Caſſ.* p. 74.

Heraclianus, upon his return from this unfortunate Expedition, where his Honour had been ſacrificed, and his Life with great difficulty ſaved, having aſſiſted in the driving the *Scythians* or *Goths* out of *Greece*, entred into

Zoſim. l. 1. p. 37. *Treb. Pol.* p. 181.

into a Conſpiracy with *Claudius*, the next Man in Dignity and Employment to the Emperor; and having engag'd *Cecropius*, the General of the *Dalmatian* Forces, in the Deſign, they by his Hand ſlew *Gallienus*, (this *Cecropius*, the General of the *Dalmatians*, Monſieur *Triſtan* believes to be the ſame *Cecrops* the *Moor*, whom * *Zoſimus* affirms to have aſſum'd the Empire, when *Gallienus* return'd from *Germany* to *Rome*, to drive the *Scythians* out of *Italy*; and that he was call'd the *Moor*, becauſe made Governor of *Mauritania* by *Claudius*: Whereas *Zoſimus* affirms, that the other Diſturbers of that Reign of *Gallienus*, *Cecrops*, *Antoninus*, and the like, were brought to condign Puniſhment by him, only *Aurelius* ſurvived: And if ſo, *Cecropius* in *Zoſimus* could not be the ſame who murther'd *Gallienus*,) and by a general Conſent *Claudius* was declar'd Emperor, who (as *Aurelian* in his *Letters* declares) ſuffer'd *Zenobia* to Reign quietly, while he was buſied in the *Gothick* War. And in this he acted very politickly, that that Warlike Lady preſerving the Boundaries of the Eaſtern Empire free from Diſturbance,

Tom. 3. *p.* 177.

* *L.* 1. *p.* 35.

Treb. Pol. p. 199.

Diſturbance, he might the more ſecurely accompliſh his other Deſigns; and in this Reſolution he perſiſted, *Pol. p.204.* though the Senate, when he was elected, cried out five times, *O Emperor* Claudius, *deliver us from the* Palmyrenians: And again ſeven times, *O Emperor* Claudius, *reſcue us from* Zenobia *and* Victorina. For he was forc'd to acknowledge in his Letters, That as *Tetricus* had made himſelf Maſter of all *France* and *Spain*; ſo the Queen of *Palmyra*, to their ſhame be it ſpoken, was poſſeſt of all their Archers.

While the Forces of the Empire were employ'd by *Claudius*, in the Firſt Year of his Reign (*Anno Chriſti* 270, *Antiochianus* and *Orphitus* being Conſuls) to compel the *Scythians* to repaſs the *Danube*, and to return to their own Country, (for they had ravag'd *Aſia* and *Achaia*, *Acarnania*, *Bœotia*, *Theſſaly*, and the adjacent Countries,) *Zenobia* ſent her Troops into *Egypt*, to reduce that fertile Country under her Juriſdiction; the Inhabitants of that rich Province having, upon the News of the Death of *Gallienus*, unanimouſly acknowledg'd and taken the Oath of *Zoſim. l.1. p. 39, 40. Pollio, ubi ſup.*

Allegiance to *Claudius*, though he were abſent. This *Zenobia* reſented, as an Injury offer'd to her own Title, and the Succeſſion of her Sons, it being uſual for the Junior *Auguſtus*, upon the Death of the Elder, to claim the Poſſeſſion of the whole Empire: Or elſe ſhe took this occaſion to aſſert her Pretenſions to that Kingdom; for ſhe derived her Pedegree from the Family of the *Ptolemy*'s, and particularly from *Cleopatra* the laſt Queen of that Country, whom the *Romans* had by force diſpoſſeſt.

To make this Conqueſt, ſhe ſent her General *Zabdas* into *Egypt* (where a Party of the Natives, under *Timagenes* (*Pollio* calls him *Timogenes*) had already declar'd for her Intereſt, and ſupported her Claim) who with a powerful Army of Seventy thouſand Men, made up of *Palmyrenians*, *Syrians* and *Barbarians*, fought Fifty thouſand *Egyptians*, and after a very ſharp Engagement (in which the Militia of *Palmyra* continued the Fight with unwearied Obſtinacy and Pertinaciouſneſs) got the Victory: After which, having left Five thouſand of his Soldiers behind him to keep the Country in awe, he return'd to *Palmyra*.

While

While this Invaſion was made, *Probus*, whom the Emperor *Claudius* had declar'd the Præfect of *Egypt*, was, according to Command, ſcouring the neighbouring Seas of the Pyrates, who, in thoſe times of Diſorder, much infeſted the bottom of the *Streights:* But as ſoon as he heard the fatal News, that during his Abſence, *Egypt* had been ſubdued; he return'd with all ſpeed, forming an Army of what Forces he had with him, and ſuch other of the Natives as were content to Liſt themſelves for the Service, and to throw off the Yoke of the *Palmyrenians*, which they hated; and making an Attempt upon the Guards whom *Zabdas* had left to preſerve his New Conqueſt in Obedience, he drove them out of the Country.

Upon the Report of this Revolution, *Zabdas* return'd; but *Probus* having in the mean time ſtrengthned his Troops with Recruits from *Lybia*, and the remoter Parts of *Egypt*, attack't the Enemy, got the Victory, and drove the Men of *Palmyra* a ſecond time out of that Country.

In purſuit of this Victory, *Probus* poſſeſt himſelf of a Hill near *Babylon* (the *Egyptian* City of that Name) that he might preclude *Zabdas* from retiring into *Syria*. But *Timagenes*, who exactly knew all the Country, with Two thouſand *Palmyrenians* got to the top of the Hill, unknown to the *Egyptians*, and falling upon them unexpectedly, cut them all off. Which when their General ſaw, he, not willing to outlive his Honour, fell on his own Sword.

CHAP. XXII.

EGyt being thus reduc'd under the Power of *Zenobia*, the remainder of the *Barbarians*, who outliv'd the Battle fought between *Claudius* and the *Goths*, at *Naiſſus*, ſecured themſelves within a Tabor of their Waggons, and ſo made their Retreat: A violent Peſtilence at the ſame time raging in both Camps; in which Contagion, *Claudius*, one

one of the moſt Accompliſht of the *Roman* Princes, breath'd his laſt. To him *Quintillus* his Brother ſucceeded; but hearing that *Aurelian* was choſen Emperor, he order'd his Phyſicians to cut his Veins, and ſo expir'd.

Aurelian having baffled the *Scythians*, and ſubdued all the Pretenders to the Government, having built the Walls of *Rome*, and ſettled the Civil State of that City (which took up the two firſt Years of his Reign) undertook an Expedition into the *Eaſt*, to reduce *Palmyra*, which at that time had brought under its Juriſdiction all *Egypt*, and all the *Eaſt*, home to *Ancyra* the Metropolis of *Galatia*; and would have extended its Conqueſts over *Bithynia* to the Gates of *Chalcedon*, if the Inhabitants, having been made acquainted with the Reſolutions of *Aurelian*, had not emancipated themſelves from that Yoke.

Aurelian did not march directly into the *Eaſt*, but ſecured the Provinces through which he went, being forc'd to fight many Battels by the way, before he reach'd *Syria*. For in *Illyricum* and *Thrace* he overthrew the remainders

Vopiſc. p. 216.

of the *Goths*, and ſlew Five thouſand of them, with their Commander *Cannabas*. After which, he march'd through *Byzantium* into *Bithynia*, which had declar'd for his Intereſts; took *Tyana*, which was betray'd to him by *Heraclammon*, but ſpar'd the City, for the ſake of the Philoſopher *Apollonius*, who was born there, while he order'd the Traytor to be executed; all the other Cities between *Tyana* and *Antioch* rendring themſelves.

Near *Antioch*, *Zenobia* had fix'd her ſtation, in the Head of a numerous Army advantagiouſly poſted. But *Aurelian* was a Prince of Undaunted Courage, a Bold Spirit, and Dextrous Addreſs; and prepar'd himſelf, as became a Prudent General, for a Battel: And obſerving, that the Strength of *Zenobia's* Forces conſiſted in her Horſe-men, (who were arm'd *Cap-a-pée*, and better underſtood Horſemanſhip than the *Roman* Troops) he poſted his Foot beyond the River *Orontes*, in a ſeparate Body, and commanded his Horſe not to engage the *Palmyrenians* while their Body was freſh and luſty; but when they charg'd, to retire, and diſſemble a Flight,

Flight, till the extreme Heat of the Weather, and the Weight of their heavy Arms had tyred them, and forc'd them to deſiſt from the Purſuit. The due Obſervation of this Order got the Victory: For when the *Romans*, by this manner of Fighting, had fatigued the *Palmyrenian* Troops, and tyred their Horſes, then they charg'd them with the utmoſt Vigour, and as they fell from their Horſes, or their Horſes ſunk under them, trod them under their feet. The Slaughter was various; ſome were ſlain with the Sword, others ſtifled with the fall of their own Horſes upon them, a third ſort trampled to death by the *Roman* Troops, while the ſcatter'd remainders of that great Army fled to *Antioch*.

This Battel was fought (ſays * *Euſebius*) in the ſecond Year of the 250th. Olympiad, *Anno Chriſti* 273, at (*a*) *Imma*, not far from *Antioch*,

* *Chron. ex verſ. Hier.*

(*a*) *apud Timas. Hier.* (lege *apud Imas*, an eaſie Miſtake of the Copyiſt for *aput Imas.*) *apud Imm*, in *Sextus Rufus*, and *Eutropius*. In *Ptolemy*, Ἰμμα. In *Georgius Syncellus*, Ἰμμα. In St. *Hier. Vit. Malchi*, *Inma*.— It was a Town of *Seleucis*, between *Gindarus* and *Gephyra*, ſays *Ptolemy*. And *Hier.* ſays, that the Deſart of *Chalcis* is ſituate between *Imma* and *Emeſa* to the South.

and in the Engagement *Pompeianus* the *Frank* (whoſe Family thereupon ſettled at *Antioch*, and was in being in St. *Jerom*'s time, his dear Friend *Euagrius* being of that Houſe and Lineage) did the Emperor extraordinary Service, and behav'd himſelf with great Bravery. And it was this Battel, or rather the Shadow of a Battel, ſays * *Oroſius*, for *Zenobia* was rather frighted than beaten into Submiſſion) that put that Great Princeſs into the Hands of the *Romans*, and decided the Controverſie (ſay *Eutropius*, and *Aurelius Victor.*) But they are both miſtaken; for *Zenobia* loſt her Empire in a much ſharper Engagement at *Emeſa*, where her Forces were entirely routed: Of which more in the next Chapter.

* *L.*7.*c.*23.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIII.

Zabdas the General of *Zenobia*'s Army, a Commander of great Experience, and (till then) as great Succeſs, fearing leſt the People of *Antioch*, upon the report of the loſs of the Battel, ſhould have fallen upon and inſulted the remains of his Conquer'd Troops, having found a Man who ſomewhat reſembled *Aurelian*, clad him in ſuch Habit as that Prince uſed to wear when he fought, leading him through the Streets of that large City in Triumph, as if he had gotten the Victory, and made the Emperor his Priſoner. *Zoſim.* P. 45.

By this Stratagem *Zabdas* impoſed upon the Citizens of *Antioch*, and amuzed them the remaining part of that Day, till the Night coming on, he retir'd with *Zenobia* to *Emeſa*: And thus he deluded the *Antiochians*, who otherwiſe would have much incommoded his Retreat, and eſcap'd being ſurpriz'd and ruin'd by *Aurelian*; for the Emperor had recall'd his Foot from the other ſide of the *Orontes*, with an

an Intention, the next day, to have fallen upon the reliques of the *Palmyrenian* Army on every ſide: But his Deſign was fruſtrated by the flight of *Zenobia*; whereupon he alter'd his Intentions, and enter'd *Antioch*, being receiv'd by the Citizens with all the Marks of Zeal for his Service; and was ſo well pleas'd with the Teſtimonies of their Repentance and Submiſſion, that he publiſh'd an Indemnity to the Inhabitants, and recall'd thoſe who had fled out of fear of being puniſh'd for adhering to the Intereſts of the Queen of *Palmyra*.

At this time *Aurelian* was inform'd, that a Party of the *Palmyrenians* had poſted themſelves advantageouſly on a Hill that overlook'd *Daphne*, the famous Suburb of *Antioch*, in confidence that the Steepneſs of the Place would ſecure them from all the Attacks of the *Romans*. But the Emperor commanded his Infantry to draw themſelves into their Cloſe Order, and to cover themſelves with their Shields, ſo to bear off the Darts and Stones that their Adverſaries might hurl down upon them: And by this method they got an eaſie Victory,

Victory, and put all their Enemies to flight; whom the *Romans* purſued ſo cloſely, that ſome were forc'd to throw themſelves off from the Precipices, and ſo were torn in pieces, while the remainder periſh't by the Swords of the Victors.

After this, the Cities of *Apamea*, *Lariſſa* and *Arethuſa* open'd their Gates, and ſubmitted to the Conqueror, receiving him with all the Marks of Honour and Reſpect. But *Aurelian* underſtanding that the Army of *Zenobia*, and her Allies, being no leſs than Seventy thouſand Men, were encamp't in the Plain before *Emeſa*, immediately mov'd towards them, and encamp't with his *Dalmatian*, *Myſian* and *Pannonian* Horſe, with the Legions of *Noricum* and *Rhætia*, and with his *Prætorian* Bands, who were all ſelect Troops, and tryed Men, in view of the Enemy. Beſides theſe Regiments, *Aurelian* had in his Army ſeveral Troops of *Mooriſh* Horſe, of the Militia of *Aſia*, from *Tyana*, and from *Meſopotamia*, *Syria*, *Phenicia*, and *Paleſtine*, all choice Men.

When the Armies engag'd, the *Roman* Horſe took care not to be enclos'd by

by the *Palmyrenians*, who were ſuperiour to them in number, and gall'd them very ſeverely, breaking and diſordering their Ranks. But as they were about to turn their backs, the *Roman* Foot charg'd the Enemy's Troops ſo briskly, that they ſoon put them to flight. Upon this followed a bloody ſlaughter, the *Jews* falling on with their Clubs and Maces, which made a thundering and unuſual Noiſe upon the Armour of Braſs and Iron in which the *Palmyrenians* charg'd: The whole Country was cover'd with the Carcaſſes of Men and Horſes, while the few that eſcap'd, fled to the City.

Zenobia being extremely grieved, as ſhe ought, at her Defeat, deliberated what ſhe ſhould do; and it was unanimouſly in Council agreed, That ſhe ſhould deſert *Emeſa* (the Inhabitants of the City being her Enemies, and wiſhing well to the *Romans*) and betake her ſelf to *Palmyra*, where being more ſecure, ſhe might conſult at leiſure how to repair her loſt Fortunes. This Advice ſhe immediately comply'd with, and fled to *Palmyra*.

The

The News of her flight being brought to *Aurelian*, he entred *Emeſa* in Triumph, cover'd with the Trophies of a noble Victory, and was receiv'd by the Citizens with all the Marks of Joy, and according to the Deſerts of an Invincible Hero. At *Emeſa* he ſeiz'd the Treaſures of *Zenobia*, which, by reaſon of her precipitate haſte, ſhe was forc'd to leave behind her, and then with all imaginable ſpeed mov'd toward *Palmyra*. In his March, the *Syrian* Banditti much infeſted his Camp; for they had, during the Diſturbances of the Empire, made themſelves very formidable, their Troops being numerous, their Horſes fleet to admiration, and the Deſarts favouring their retreat with their Prey; inaſmuch as at this time it was Proverbial at *Rome*, *That none but Women and Thieves govern'd the Eaſt*. *Vopiſc.* p. 218. *Victor.* p. 155.

When *Aurelian* had quitted himſelf of theſe troubleſom Attendants, he form'd the Siege of *Palmyra*, ſtraightly beleaguing the City, and fortifying his Camp with Caſtles, while the neighbouring Nations furniſht him with all ſorts of Proviſions. The Beſieged, in the mean time, being poſſeſt with a vain

vain Opinion, That their City was Impregnable, derided the Attempts of the *Romans*, as if they muſt be forc'd, in a few days, to raiſe their Siege, for want of Neceſſaries; while the City was well provided with all the requiſites of War, the Garriſon numerous and brave, and engaged to fight, not, as before, for Glory and Conqueſt, but for their Wives and Children, and their own Liberties, their All being at ſtake: For it was beyond the reach of Fancy to imagine (ſays *Aurelian*, in his Letter to *Mucapores*) what vaſt quantities of Arms and Military Stores were in that City; that no part of the Wall was without two or three Engines to throw Darts, and other Inſtruments of Miſchief, into the Enemies Camp; that with ſome of their Machines they threw Fire among their Tents; and that the Garriſon behav'd themſelves with ſo much Reſolution, that *Aurelian* having been wounded with an Arrow, had like to have breath'd his laſt under the Walls of *Palmyra*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

THis Reſolution of the Beſieged, join'd to the many Fatigues the Emperor was obliged to undergo, made him almoſt quite weary of his Deſign: Whereupon he wrote to *Zenobia*, requiring her to ſurrender the Place, and promiſing her and her Confederates, that they ſhould be allowed to live in great Plenty and Security, in ſuch a part of the Empire as the Senate ſhould appoint, upon Condition, that all her Treaſure and Arms, her Horſes and Camels, ſhould be given up to the *Romans*; after which, *Palmyra* ſhould be permitted to be a Free Commonwealth, as it had been in paſt Ages. But the haughty Queen kept up her Courage, though her Fortunes were ſunk, and return'd the Emperor this Anſwer:

Zenobia

Zenobia the Queen of the *Eaſt*, To the Emperor *Aurelian*.

NO Man ever yet, except your ſelf, durſt demand of me, what your Letters require. Whatſoever is to be atchieved in War, muſt be gotten by Courage and Reſolution. You command me to ſurrender my ſelf and Empire; but you have forgotten, that Cleopatra *choſe rather to die by her own Hand, than to leſſen and outlive her Grandeur. I am not deſtitute of Aſſiſtance; I daily expect Succours from the* Perſians: *The* Saracens *and* Armenians *are in my Intereſts; and the very Free-booters of my Country have already inſulted and baffled your Army. When theſe Auxiliary Troops arrive, which I look for from all Quarters, you will abate of your imperious Demands, though you now require me to yield, as if you had already gotten an entire Conqueſt, and had made your ſelf Lord of all the* Eaſt.

This Epiſtle inflam'd *Aurelian*, and put him upon doing all that a wiſe and brave General ought to have attempted, to

to reduce the City; he intercepted the *Perſian* Succours, and debaucht the *Saracens* and *Armenians*, whom he corrupted by Money, and bought off, till they deſerted, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe fickle and changeable Nations, who are true only to their own Intereſts, and pay their Homage and Services to that Prince who bids moſt for them.

When the Garriſon heard that all their Relief was cut off, and ſaw the Emperor bent to carry on his Attacks with the utmoſt vigour, being alſo much preſt with the want of Neceſſaries, they determined to ſend their Queen over the *Euphrates* into *Perſia*, to beg the Aſſiſtance of that great King; and to this end, they did ſet *Zenobia* on a female Camel, which ſort of Creatures run ſwifter than any Horſe, (others ſay, on a ſwift Dromedary,) and convey'd her out of the City.

Aurelian, vex'd heartily that his Enemy had made her eſcape, diſpatch't his Light-Horſe to overtake her, who ſeiz'd on her as ſhe was juſt embark't, endeavouring to reach the farther ſide of the *Euphrates*, and brought her back

to the *Roman* Camp with mighty Joy and Triumph.

In the mean time, the Garriſon was divided in their Sentiments, one Party of them reſolving to maintain the Town to the laſt Man, and to the laſt drop of their Blood; while others were determined to ſupplicate the Emperor's Pardon, and to ſurrender. And this laſt Opinion prevail'd; whereupon, *Aurelian* having given his Promiſe, that they ſhould be indemnify'd for whatever was paſt, they open'd their Gates, and begg'd the Conqueror's Mercy, who receiv'd them with all Kindneſs, and took care they ſhould not ſuffer any damage.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

THus was that proud City, emulous of the Glory of Old *Rome*, reduc'd under the Power of *Aurelian*, who having poſſeſt himſelf of all the Treaſure and rich Moveables of it, return'd to *Emeſa*, and there ſate in Judgment on *Zenobia* and her Accomplices. For the Army were ready to mutiny, and petition'd, that ſhe that had been the cauſe of all their Hardſhips, ſhould be Executed. But *Aurelian*, who had a grand Eſteem for her Courage, and other Heroical Qualifications, and who could not have forgotten the Merits of her Husband *Odenathus*, and his great Services, who ſupported the ſinking Empire in the *Eaſt*, and preſerv'd it from utter Ruine, thought it beneath the Courage of a brave Man to murder a Woman, one of ſo rare Endowments, and who had for ſome years worn the Sacred Purple, in cold blood; and being convinc'd, that it would more contribute to his Glory, to carry her in Triumph to *Rome*, than to put her

to Death in the *Eaſt*, he preſerv'd her from the Rage of the incens'd Soldiers; and to ſatisfie the Mutinous, ſharply expoſtulated with her the Reaſons of her Obſtinacy, and cauſed all thoſe to be ſlain who had engaged her to take up Arms againſt *Aurelian*. This occaſion'd the Execution of many eminent Perſons, among whom the moſt learned *Longinus* met his Fate with great Reſolution; and to the laſt, he bore his Sufferings with a Philoſophical Courage, and was ſo far from being affrighted with the Shadows of the Grave, that he comforted his Friends who bemoan'd his Deſtiny, and convinc'd them, that if this lower World be but one large Priſon, he is the happieſt Man who is ſooneſt diſcharg'd and ſet at liberty.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

THe Affairs of the *Eaſt* having thus been adjuſted, and the Country left without Diſturbance, *Aurelian* determin'd to return into *Europe*; but before he could reach *Rome*, while he was paſſing through *Rhodopa*, a Province of *Thrace*, the Inhabitants of *Palmyra*, who could not content themſelves with their meaner Circumſtances (the loſs of their Empire being a continual Affliction) reſolved to betake themſelves to their Arms, to recover their ancient Grandeur. In purſuit of this Deſign, they fell upon *Sandario*, and the Six hundred Archers whom the Emperor had left there in Garriſon, and putting them to the Sword, choſe *Achilleus* (the Father of their Captive Queen *Zenobia*) their Prince. But as ſoon as the Emperor heard of the Revolt, being a General of unwearied Diligence and Diſpatch, he immediately march'd back into *Aſia*, and utterly deſtroy'd that unhappy City. *Vopiſc.* p. 219. *Zoſim. l.* 1, p. 55.

This part of the Story *Zoſimus* tells ſomewhat differently; That the Men of *Palmyra*, inſtigated by *Apſæus*, who had in former times been a buſie Agitator among them, attempted to perſuade *Marcellieus* (*T. Nonnius Marcellinus*, I ſuppoſe, who afterwards was Conſul in Year of the Emperor *Tacitus*, *Anno Chriſti* 275,) whom *Aurelian* had conſtituted his Governor of *Meſopotamia*, and the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the *Eaſt*, to take upon him the Empire. He put them off from day to day; and under the pretext of conſidering ſo weighty an Affair, before he determin'd his Reſolutions, gain'd time till he had certify'd *Aurelian* of the Revolt; but at laſt he poſitively refuſed to take the Purple. Whereupon they choſe *Antiochus* their King, and arm'd themſelves in his defence.

Upon the News that *Marcellinus* ſent, the Emperor doubled his March, and in a ſhort time came to *Antioch*; the Inhabitants, who were buſied about their Sports, in ſeeing the Horſe-races, being ſurpriz'd at his coming; from whence he immediately ſpeeded to *Palmyra*, which without fighting he took, and

and raz'd, giving *Antiochus* his Life and Liberty, accounting him beneath his Anger.

In the Sack of the City, the Soldiers were ſurfeited with Blood and Rapine (as *Aurelian*, in his Letters to *Cejonius Baſſus*, relates) ſparing neither Age, Sex nor Quality, involving Women and Children, Old and Young, the Nobility and the Boors in the ſame common Ruine, till there was hardly left a Man to inhabit the City, or to manure the Ground.

Such a Revenge ſatiated even the fierce Temper of *Aurelian*, inaſmuch as he he wrote to *Cejonius Baſſus* (or rather *Cerronius*, according to the old Copies, probably the ſame *Cerronius*, the General of the *Dalmatian* Troops, who ſlew *Gallienus*, whom, I conjecture, *Aurelian* left the Governor of *Palmyrene*) to put a period to the Carnage, and to ſpare the poor remains of that unfortunate City, enjoyning him expreſly to build the Temple of the *Sun* (which had been ſack't and rifled by the Soldiers of the Third Legion) as magnificently as it had been in times paſt (and by the Ruines of it extant at this

Vid. *Append.*

day, it appears to have been a ſtupendous Building) to the repairing this noble Structure he enjoined him to expend 300 Pound weight of Gold, which he found in the Coffers of *Zenobia*, beſides 1800 Pound weight of Silver, which was rais'd from the ſale of the Peoples Goods, together with the Crown Jewels, all which he order'd to be ſold, to make Money to beautifie the Temple, while himſelf promiſes to write to the Senate to ſend a Prieſt from *Rome* to Dedicate it.

After this, *Aurelian* return'd into *Europe* without any diſturbance, carrying the unhappy *Zenobia* his Priſoner with him to *Rome*, till ſhe became one of the Ornaments of his Triumph; whither I ſhall follow her, to compleat her Story, when I have briefly conſider'd the Fortunes of her Aſſociate *Firmius*.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

WHen *Aurelian* had put to death all *Zenobia's* Councellors, Military Officers, and Aſſociates, and deſtroy'd the City, *Marcus Firmius* (as the Coins ſtile him, while the Hiſtorians call him *Firmus*) one of the Confederates of the Captive Princeſs, took upon him the Title of Emperor, and endeavour'd to revenge her Quarrel: He was born at *Seleucia*, and bred up to all manner of robuſt Exerciſes, Nature having fitted him with a Gigantick Body qualified for ſuch Undertakings; his Stature was tall to a Prodigy; and his Limbs ſo firm, that ſupporting himſelf only with his Hands, he could endure the Smiths, when they had laid an Anvil on his bare Breaſt, to ſmite on it with their Sledges: And proportionable to his Strength was his Stomach, for he uſed to eat an Oſtrich at a Meal; and could ſwallow at a ſitting, though his uſual Drink was Water, as much Wine as two Buckets would hold: He had alſo amaſt vaſt Wealth,

* *Vopiſ.* p. 242.

Wealth, having often ſent his Ships to trade in the *East-Indies*, which return'd loaden with all ſort of rich Goods, and among other Rarities, two Elephants Teeth of ten Foot long: And of the Products of *Egypt*, he had in his Ware-houſe as much Paper and Glew as would maintain an Army. And, that he might keep a Port ſuitable to his Station, to his Riches, and his Dignity, he built him a noble and pompous Palace at *Alexandria*.

Vid. *Salmaſ. in loc.*

Firmius having thus fill'd his Coffers, and provided all things neceſſary to maintain the Intereſt he reſolv'd to engage in, declar'd himſelf a Friend and Confederate to *Zenobia*, (nor is it altogether improbable that *Zenobia* conſtituted him, being a Man of extraordinary Strength and Courage, and Maſter of a great Eſtate, her Governor over *Egypt*, when *Zabdas* had conquer'd it,) and when that Illuſtrious Queen fell into her Misfortunes, he enter'd into a League with the *Blemmyæ* and *Saracens*, and then declar'd himſelf Emperor (as the Coins expreſly prove, tho' *Aurelian*, according to the Cuſtom of that Age, which ſtiled all Tyrants and Uſurpers

Uſurpers Thieves, will not allow him a better Title than that of the *Egyptian Robber*, and though *Vopiſcus* ſays that he declar'd *Egypt* a Free State, refuſing to aſſume the Enſigns of Royalty) and having recollected the ſcatter'd Forces of *Zenobia's* Army, undertook to ſupport the improſperous Cauſe, and to defend *Alexandria*.

But no Power could reſiſt the Genius of *Aurelian*; for after the return of that great Man from *Carræ*, *Firmius* fell a Victor to the Conqueror, and ſome ſay, became his own Executioner. But *Aurelian* himſelf affirms, that after he had routed his Army, he beſieged him in *Alexandria*, and having taken the City by Storm, he ſeverely chaſtiſed the Citizens for their Sedition, but Crucify'd their Ephemerous Emperor (for he did not reign a full Year) which was the uſual Puniſhment to which Thieves were Condemn'd.

From *Egypt* the fierce and indefatigable Emperor march'd his Troops toward the *Weſt*, vex'd and angry that *Tetricus* ſtill maintain'd his Pretenſions to the Purple in *France*; but upon his approach, *Tetricus*, who could no longer endure

endure nor digeſt the Inſolence of his Legions, gave up his Army to *Aurelian*, who having thus quietted the Affairs of both the *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, return'd to *Rome* with his Captives, which City he reſolv'd to enter in State, as the Lord of the Univerſe.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THe Affairs of *Zenobia*, after ſhe fell into the Hands of *Aurelian*, are differently related. * *Zoſimus* avers, that the Victorious Emperor carried her, her Son, and all her Accomplices with him towards *Rome*, and that it was reported, that ſhe either died of ſome Diſeaſe, or that refuſing all manner of Suſtenance, ſhe ſtarved her ſelf; and that the reſt of the Captives, except her Son, were Shipwrack't, and drown'd in the *Streights*, between *Chalcedon* and Byzantium. † *Malela* ſays, that *Aurelian* caus'd her to ride on a Dromedary, and carry'd her with him through

* *L.* 1. *p.* 55.

† *Par.* 2. *P.* 397.

through all the *Eaſt*, till he came to *Antioch*, where for three Days he expoſed her to the ſight of the People, loaden with Fetters, who had often ſeen her in the height of her Glory; after which, he tranſported her to *Rome*, where, after ſhe had acted her part among the Princes of the conquer'd Provinces, he caus'd her to be Beheaded. But * *Zonaras* talks doubtfully, his Authors from whom he derived his Notices differing in their Accounts; ſome affirming, that the Victor uſed her with the greateſt Clemency, and marry'd her at *Rome* to a Man of Quality, (*Syncellus* ſays he was a Senator,) others, that ſhe died by the way, oppreſt with grief for the loſs of her Empire, and that *Aurelian* himſelf married one of her Daughters, and diſpos'd of the others for Wives to the moſt Illuſtrious of the *Romans*.

* *Tom.* 2. *p.* 240.

But in the Memoirs of the Weſtern Affairs, we are rather to be guided by the Writers of that Country, who may be preſumed to have been better acquainted with what was done in their own Country, than thoſe who liv'd at a great diſtance in the Eaſt. And they all

Hier. Chron. Eutrop. Treb. Pol. &c.

all agree, that *Zenobia* ſurviv'd all her Misfortunes, that *Aurelian* gave her her Life for her own ſake, and for the Merits of *Odenathus*, and that ſhe lived very happily in *Italy*, after ſhe, having been deveſted of the Empire of the *Eaſt*, had made her Figure in the Triumph of *Aurelian*; and I ſhall account for the Pomp of it, which the Hiſtorian ſays was Specious and Magnificent, becauſe that was the laſt of the Imperial Triumphs, which was made according to the ancient manner. Though it muſt be conſeſt, that *Onuphrius Panvinius* ſays, that the laſt Triumph was that of *Beliſarius*, who, by the Order of the Emperor *Juſtinian*, was allowed to make his Entry into the City of *Conſtantinople* in a Triumphant Chariot, drawn by four Horſes a breaſt, after he had recover'd *Africa* out of the hands of the *Vandals*, and made *Gelimer* their King his Priſoner; and that his Scholiaſt *Joachim Maderus* affirms, that *Heraclius*, *Johannes Comnenus*, and *Manuel* his Son, had their ſeveral Triumphs: But theſe have no relation to *Rome*, but to *Conſtantinople*. And of the Triumph of *Beliſarius*,

sarius, *Procopius* says expressly, that it was not according to the ancient method, but that he began his Procession at his own House, from whence he march'd on foot to the *Hippodrome*, and from thence to the Imperial Throne; and withal he avers, that for near Six hundred Years before *Belisarius*, the Honour of the Triumph was not given to any other, since the days of *Titus* and *Trajan*, and those other great Emperors who had conquer'd the *Barbarians*; among whom, I suppose, he includes *Aurelian*.

Vandal. l. 2. c. 9. p. 255. ὁ τῷ παλαιῷ μὲν τῷ τρόπῳ ἀλλὰ πηζῇ βαδίζων, &c.

CHAP. XXIX.

THe Triumphal Pomp was always very August: The whole Senate march'd in their several Ranks toward the Capitol, being followed by the Trumpets of War, who sounding a Charge, introduc'd the Representations of the several Countries that had been subdued, and the Cities that had been taken,

Vopisc. p. 220. & Onufr. de Triumph. p. 140.

taken, done in exquiſite Imagery and Picture: After theſe followed the Riches of the Conquer'd Provinces, vaſt quantities of Gold and Silver, and noble Gems, Crowns and Royal Robes, and the other Ornaments of Royalty and Grandeur, intermix'd with the Arms that were peculiar to the Regions that had been reduc'd under the *Roman* Power: Theſe were ſucceeded, among others, by a long Train of Sacrifices, and Prieſts attending that Service, all clad in rich Garments of Silk and Purple, interwove with Gold: Then came the Chariots of the unfortunate Princes, with a long train of their faithful Subjects, who, to ſhew their Fidelity, were content to follow the adverſe Fortune of their Sovereigns.

When *Aurelian* made his Entry into that ſuperb City, there were three Royal Chariots very remarkable: The firſt belong'd to the Hero *Odenathus*, (while alive) richly adorn'd with Gold, and Silver, and Precious-Stones, which gave it a peculiar Luſtre. The ſecond, no leſs glorious than the firſt, was a Preſent made by the King of *Perſia* to the Great *Aurelian*, (who alſo preſented him

him with a Purple Robe, of ſo beautiful a Dye, dipt in the *Indies*, that nothing of the Imperial Wardrobe, or the Cabinets of the *Roman* Ladies, was comparable to it.) The third, was the Chariot which *Zenobia* had cauſed to be made for her ſelf, in hopes to have entred *Rome* in Triumph, after ſhe had reduced that proud City. 'Tis true, ſhe made her entry into *Rome* in the ſame Chariot; but ſhe rode in it a Captive, not a Queen.

Theſe Chariots were followed by a fourth, which (as it was reported) did once belong to the King of the *Goths*, drawn by four Stags a-breaſt, in which *Aurelian* (clad in the famous Purple above-mentioned, which he afterwards dedicated to *Jupiter Capitolinus*, and which after Ages look'd on with Admiration) was drawn to the Capitol, where he ſacrificed the Stags, according to a Vow made to *Jupiter*, when he took the Chariot. In the head of theſe Chariots march'd twenty Elephants; of *Lybian* Lions, Leopards and Panthers, as alſo of thoſe of *Paleſtine*, two hundred; which, after the Triumph was ended, *Aurelian* beſtowed on his

Vid. *Salmaſ. in Vopiſc. pag.* 371.

private Friends, that he might leſſen the Publick Expence. Theſe were followed by four Tygars, by ſeveral Camelopardali, Elks, and other ſtrange Beaſts, each in their orders.

Part of this Pomp conſiſted of eight hundred pair of Gladiators deſtin'd to the Entertainment of the People, and of an infinite number of Captives; for, beſides the Barbarous Nations of the *Blemmyes*, the Inhabitants of *Axumis*, and of *Arabia the Happy*; the *Indians*, *Bactrians*, *Iberians*, *Saracens* and *Perſians*; and after them, the *Goths*, *the Alans*, the *Roxolans*, the *Sarmatians*, *Franks*, *Suevians*, *Vandals* and *Germans*, with their Hands bound behind their Backs, preceded the Imperial Chariot. Among theſe, the principal Men of *Palmyra*, as many as had outliv'd the Calamity of their Country, and the Rebels of *Egypt*, had their ſtation. But the moſt remarkable of the Captives were ten maſculine Women, who, habited in Mens Cloaths, had done extraordinary Service to the *Gothick* General; theſe few being all that ſurvived of the *Amazonian* Race, who fought againſt the *Romans*; and in the Head of

of every Nation, was carry'd the Name of the Country to which they belong'd.

Amid'ſt this numerous train of Priſoners, *Tetricus* made a peculiar Figure; he was habited *A-la-mode de France*, where he had been Emperor, in a Scarlet Cloak, under which he wore a light Gold-coloured Coat, and a pair of French Breeches; with him was his Son, whom *Tetricus* had declared Emperor in *France*. After him followed *Zenobia*, deck'd to the greateſt advantage, but loaden with her Golden Chains, whoſe weight was ſupported by her Attendants. The Crown of every conquer'd City, diſtinguiſh'd by an eminent Inſcription, was carried before every Nation. After them followed the People of *Rome*, the Banners of the ſeveral Colleges, and the Enſigns of every Regiment, with the Cuiraſſiers, followed by the reſt of the Army. And after theſe the Senators march'd (but not ſo brisk and merry as otherwiſe they would have been on ſuch a Solemnity, becauſe *Tetricus*, who was a Member of that Auguſt Body, was led a Captive in the Triumph.) It was late e're the

Cavalcade reach'd the Capitol, but Night before the Emperor return'd to the Palace.

On the following Days the common People were solaced with the sight of Stage-plays, Horse-races, Huntings, the Duels of the Gladiators, and mock Sea-fights. And among other the Pleasantries of that merry time, it is not to be forgotten, that *Aurelian*, before he made his Expedition into the *East*, promised the *Romans*, that if he return'd a Conqueror, he would give a Crown of two Pound weight to every Citizen, which they expected would be of no worse Metal than Gold: But the Emperor being neither able nor willing, presented each of them with a fine Wheaten Loaf in shape of a Crown, and of the same weight, and one of these he bestowed on every Commoner, every year, as long as he liv'd.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXX.

WHen this Ceremony was over, *Aurelian* gave both *Tetricus* and *Zenobia* their Lives, conſtituting *Tetricus* (*a*) Corrector of *Lucania*, (*Trebellius Pollio* ſays, of all *Italy*,) and ſetling *Zenobia* at *Rome*, where ſhe liv'd in much Plenty and Honour to a great Age, maintaining the Port of a *Roman* Matron, by the Eſtate which the Emperor poſſeſt her of in *Tivoli*, not far from the Emperor *Adrian*'s Palace, and the Place which is called *Conchæ* (or *Concæ*;) and ſo well ſhe behav'd her ſelf in her new Habitation, that the Place of her Reſidence was called *Zenobia*, from the illuſtrious Inhabitant.

(*a*) The *Correctors* of any part of a *Roman* Province were reckon'd in Honour equal to the Men of Conſular Dignity. There were two Correctors of *Italy* (as the *Notitia* ſays) the one of *Apulia* and *Calabria*, the other of *Lucania*, and the *Brutii*; the Correctors being reckon'd among the Friends of the Emperor, among the *Viri Clariſſimi*, and *Spectabiles*, and ſet to ſtand on a level with the Preſidents of Provinces. *Guther de Offic. Dom. Aug. l.* 1. *c.* 7. *p.* 25, 26. *& p.* 237.

The precise Situation of this *Zenobia* (the *Villa* of this excellent Princess) is to this day under dispute: *Fulvio Cardoli* says, that the Ruines of the *Villa Zenobia* are to be seen in that Place that is called *Colle di Santo Stephano*, which is situate near the Palace of *Adrian*. But *Del Rè* avers, that *Conchæ* is near the Lake *Della Solforata*, call'd the *Baths*; that the Plain is to this day called the *Plain of Conche*; and, that the noble Marbles to be seen there, are a demonstration that he was not mistaken in the Situation. The Baths being built (says the learned *Andrea Bacci*) by *Agrippa*, for the use of such as would frequent them; that three hundred years after their first Foundation, the Place was deputed for the Habitation of *Zenobia*; and, that the Cardinal *Hyppolito* of *Ferrara* found there a Jewel of Gold, an Antique Vessel of Silver, and other Ornaments belonging to the Ladies of those early times, with an Inscription, that in that Place one of the Daughters of *Zenobia* was buried. From all which, *viz.* from the Name *Conche*, still remaining, from the Antique Fabricks standing thereabouts, and from what was

Conf. del Rè de l'Antichità Tiburtine, par. 2. c. 5.

was found there, it may be gathered, that the *Villa Zenobia* could not be far off.

Some Authors affirm, that *Zenobia's* Sons, *Herennianus* and *Timolaus*, were ſlain by *Aurelian's* Order, (Greatneſs is ſeldom unaccompanied with Jealouſie; and a Rival Prince never thinks his Title ſecure, till his Competitor is in his Grave;) but others ſay, that they taſted of the Emperor's Clemency, and died at *Rome* natural Deaths, the very year in which they were brought thither, *Ann. Chr.* 273, (ſays *Mezzo-barba*;) while *Vaballathus* having been led in Triumph with his Mother *Zenobia*, ſpent the remainder of his life in a private ſtation. But whence that learned Man had theſe Notices, I profeſs I know not. This we are ſure of, that in the Reign of *Conſtantine the Great*, her Poſterity were reckon'd among the Nobility of *Rome*, ſo ſays *Trebellius Pollio* expreſly: In the Reign of *Valens* the ſame Family continued in great Reputation, ſays *Eutropius*: And St. *Jerom* witneſſes the ſame thing for the times of *Honorius*. And Cardinal *Baronius* imagines, that *Zenobius* the

Pag. 385.

Bishop of *Florence*, St. *Ambrose*'s Contemporary, was one of the Descendants of this famous Empress; but I suppose he built his Conjecture on no other Foundation, but the Likeness of the Names.

Such was the Fate of this illustrious Lady; such the Destiny of *Palmyra*, the Metropolis of her Empire, under *Aurelian*; a Catastrophe, if we may credit the Heathen Historian *Zosimus* (who was a great Bigot for Paganism) foretold by Oracles, and confirm'd by more than one sad Omen, which determin'd the period of that short-liv'd Empire.

L.5. p.53.

Vid. *Append.*

CHAP. XXXI.

Aurel. Vit. &c.

Aurelian having thus subdued all his Adversaries, and establish'd his own and the Empires Quiet, lived after this in an extraordinary Pomp and Splendor: He was the first of the *Roman* Emperors who habited himself in Cloth of Gold, the first who wore Gems on his

his Cloaths, and in his Shoes, and put on a Diadem, (the Coin in *Oeſelius* deſcribing him encircled with a Diadem different from, and more rich than thoſe of his Predeceſſors:) He valued himſelf, as the Recoverer of the Empire both in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, as the Reſtorer of the World to its deſired Peace and Tranquility, and as one who was born a God, and the Lord of the Univerſe. He was undoubtedly an eminent Prince, though born of mean Parents, comparable to the *Alexanders*, and the *Julius Cæſars* of former Ages, if he had not ſully'd the Luſtre of his Vertues by his Exceſſive Cruelties, of which the Carnage at the Sack of *Palmyra* is a ſevere Inſtance. And ſo valuable did he account that Victory, that, to preſerve the Memory of it (according to the Practice of the *Roman* Emperors) he added to his Imperial Titles, among many others, that of the *Palmyrenian*, as appears by an old Inſcription conſecrated to his Honour in the Fifth Year of his Reign, in *Goltzius, (*i. e.* the laſt, ſays *Petavius* and *Triſtan*, though the old † Coins (and their Authority is to me unqueſtionable) expreſly

Deus & Dominus Natus, on the reverſe of one of his Coins in *Mezzobarba*, p. 407.

* *Theſaur.* p. 274.

† Ibid.

presly mention the Sixth Year of his Reign; and with them agrees the ‖ *Chronicon*, commonly call'd the *Alexandrian*,) which is worth the preserving, because in very few Inscriptions the mention of *Palmyra* occurs :

‖ Pag. 637.

MAGNO AUGUSTO PRINCIPI MAX. IMP. FORTISSIMO, CONSERVATORI ORBIS, L. DOMITIO AURELIANO P. F. PONT. MAX. TRIB. POT. V. P. P. COS. III. PROCOS. GOTH. MAX. PALMYR. MAX. GER. MAX.
ORDO BRIXIANORUM.

‖ Or, *To the Great* Augustus.

‖ *To the Great and August, the most Illustrious of Princes, the Bravest of Emperors, the Preserver of the World*, Lucius Domitius Aurelianus, *Pious and Happy, the Chief Priest, in the Fifth Year of his Tribunitian Power, the Father of his Country, Consul the Third time, Proconsul, the most Glorious Conqueror of the* Goths, *the* Palmyrenians *and* Germans,

The Brescians *dedicate this Inscription.*

His

His Cruelty was the cauſe of his Death; for his Secretary *Eros* (or *Mneſtheus*, as *Vopiſcus* calls him) having been threatned by *Aurelian*, and fearing his fierce Temper, thought it adviſeable to prevent his own Death, by imbruing his Hands in the Blood of his Maſter, whom, by the help of his Accomplices in the Treaſon, and by the Hand of *Mucapores*, he ſlew, as he was taking the Air, attended with but a thin Guard, while the Camp lay at the *New Caſtle* (*Cœnophrium*) a Manſion between *Heraclea* and *Byzantium*, in the Road toward *Perſia*, againſt which *Aurelian* was marching his Army, to revenge himſelf upon that Nation, for aſſiſting *Zenobia* in the former War againſt the *Romans*. *Cuſpin. Cæſ.* P. 79.

Thus *Aurelian* made his Exit, in the * Seventy fifth Year of his Age; and after his Death, was honoured, as the more deſerving Princes uſually were, with a Deification, as both the Hiſtorians and the Coins declare. * *Chron. Alex.* P. 637.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXII.

BUt though *Palmyra* was thus ruin'd by the Commands of *Aurelian*, I cannot think it was wholly raz'd, it not being conſonant to the Wiſdom of that Auguſt Government to ſlight ſo ſtrong a Garriſon upon the Borders; for this would have been the ſame, as to invite the *Perſians* to a new Invaſion; but that the Emperor, who gave a particular Order to re-build, beautifie and endow the noble Temple of the *Sun*, that had been plunder'd and deſtroyed by the inſolent Soldiers, did alſo take care, that the City ſhould be put in a poſture of defence, ſo as it might obſtruct the Irruptions of the Enemy, and that to that end he conſtituted *Cerronius Baſſus* the Governor of that Province; though I doubt not, but it loſt the Privileges of a *Roman* Colony, of a Metropolis, and in all probability of a Free City, and was only left in the condition of a Garriſon, or *Præſidium*. For as it was uſual to advance a *Præſidium*, or Fort, to the Honour

Honour of a City, as *Boſra* in *Arabia* was promoted by the Emperor *Severus*; ſo, on the contrary, a City often loſt its Franchiſes, when it turn'd Rebel to the Emperor. In this condition I ſuppoſe it to have been, when *Diocleſian* and *Maximinian* wore the Imperial Purple, *Hierocles* at that time being the Præfect of the Province, as appears by the only Latin Inſcription that hath been as yet found at *Palmyra*; the Pillar being erected to the Honour of the above-named Emperors, and of *Conſtantius* and *Galerius Maximianus* the Cæſars, who had moſt happily founded *Caſtra*. Vid. *Append.*

Now, that we may know when *Caſtra* was founded, it will be neceſſary to conſider the State of the Empire at that time. *Diocleſian* having been oppoſed by many Competitors, was particularly rival'd by *Achilleus* in *Egypt*; againſt him therefore he march'd in Perſon, beſieged him in *Alexandria*, and at laſt ſlew him. After this, he went into *Meſopotamia*, and there making a halt, ſent *Galerius*, *Ann. Chr.* 296, againſt *Narſes* King of *Perſia*. *Galerius* raſhly engaging the *Perſians*, between *Callinicus* and *Carræ*, *Eutrop. brev. Idat. Chron.*

Carræ, with a very ſmall Force, was routed, and beaten back to the Camp of *Diocleſian*; who, when he met him, treated him with ſo much ſcorn, that he made him run in his Purple Robe ſome Miles by his Chariot-ſide, like a Foot-man, before he vouchſafed to ſpeak to him. But in a little time after this, *Ann. Chr.* 297, upon *Galerius* his important Solicitations, he furniſh'd him with Recruits from *Illyricum* and *Mæſia*, and commanded him to retrieve the Honour he had loſt in the firſt Engagement, and accordingly he behav'd himſelf with ſo much Bravery in the ſecond Battle (in which with 25000 Men he broke into the Enemies Camp) that he routed the *Perſians*, beat them out of *Armenia Major*, where they had poſted themſelves, took the Tents and Baggage of *Narſes*, and a great Booty, made his Wives, his Siſters, and Children, (his Daughters, ſays *Rufus Feſtus*,) with a great part of the *Perſian* Nobility, Priſoners, drove the King to fly for ſhelter to the remoteſt Solitudes of his Dominions, and acquitted the *Romans* from the ignominy of the Captivity of *Valerian*.

Narſes

Narſes being reduc'd to ſo great extremity by this laſt Blow, that had almoſt determin'd the period of his Empire, choſe *Appharban*, one of the moſt truſty and moſt beloved of his Courtiers (his *Præfectus Prætorio*, as the Hiſtorian, uſing the Style of his own Country, calls him) his Chief Miniſter, a Man of Addreſs, and happy Application, to be his Ambaſſador to *Galerius*; who having obtained leave to deliver his Meſſage, thus accoſted this victorious Prince; *P. Patric. excerpt. p. 26.*

'That all Mankind knew, that the two 'Empires of *Rome* and *Perſia*, were two 'great Luminaries, which, like the two 'Eyes in the Body, were to receive 'Luſtre, Beauty and Help one from the 'other; that it was unnatural, when 'they endeavoured to extinguiſh each 'other; that to deſtroy, and bring to 'deſolation, could not be reckon'd 'among the illuſtrious Atchievements, 'but muſt be accounted an effect of 'Madneſs and Folly; that only meaner 'Spirits delighted in the Ruine of their 'Enemies; that *Narſeus* was not to be 'reckoned a weak Prince, becauſe he 'was unfortunate, but that *Galerius* 'being the greateſt of Monarchs, the

'Conqueſt

'Conqueſt of *Narſeus*, who was in no 'one noble Qualification inferior to any 'of his Predeceſſors, was reſerv'd by 'the Deſtinies for him. And that he 'further had it in his Commiſſion to 'aſſure him, That though his Maſter 'had a juſt Title to his Dominions, yet 'he threw himſelf upon the Mercy and 'Clemency of the *Romans*; that he 'would not offer any Terms to *Gale-* 'rius, but would be content with what- 'ever Articles he would pleaſe to allow 'him, deſiring him to return him his 'Wives and his Children; that this 'Humanity would entitle him to a 'nobler Conqueſt, than his victorious 'Arms; and, that his generous Uſage 'of his Family already had been ſuch, 'that he profeſs'd his inability to pay 'him his Acknowledgments as he de- 'ſerved. — (For the Kings Wives and Children had been treated with all ſort of handſom Uſage; and the Nobility who had been made Priſoners of War, except their reſtraint, found no difference between their Captivity and Freedom, between the Enemies Camp and their own Palaces; that not only no Inſults were made on their Perſons, and

no Injuries offered them, but their Entertainment was liberal, and ſuited to their Quality.) To this the *Perſian* Embaſſador ſubjoin'd, 'That the State of Mankind was very mutable, and ſubject to great Alterations,

Upon this *Galerius* ſeem'd to be in a heat, and anſwer'd, 'That it was not well done of the *Perſians*, to deſire their 'Adverſaries to conſider the Inſtabilty of 'Humane Affairs; becauſe, whenever 'they were bleſs'd with Succeſs, themſelves were the moſt inſolent of Conquerors, and added new Afflictions, by 'their opprobrious Uſage to thoſe who 'who were before moſt heavily oppreſt: 'putting them in mind of their inhumane Carriage toward the unfortunate 'Emperor *Valerian*, to whom they ſhew'd 'neither Juſtice nor Moderation; for 'after you had circumvented him, and 'made him your Priſoner, you kept him 'in Chains, till he had languiſht out many 'years in durance, and without any regard to his extreme Age, or his Sacred 'Character, you uſed him with ſcorn, 'and at laſt put him to a cruel and diſhonourable Death: And whereas the Rage 'of the moſt violent and wicked Men

'uſes to be appeas'd, when their Ad-
'verſaries are dead, your Malice out-
'liv'd the Object of it; and though his
'Body was mortal, you reſolv'd to treat
'it with a Tyranny that endeavour'd to
'make it ſelf immortal; for having
'flea'd that great Prince alive, you ſalted
'and preſerved his Skin, as a laſting Me-
'morial of your Treachery, and inſa-
'tiable Cruelty: This laſt thing, he aſ-
'ſured the Embaſſador he mention'd, not
'that he reſolved to follow ſo ignomi-
'nious a Preſident, but to convince the
'*Perſians* that they could not have any
'Pretenſions to that Humane Uſage
'which they petition'd for; and that he
'was ſatisfied, that their Argument from
'the Inconſtancy of Humane Affairs,
'never made any impreſſion on their
'Minds in the days of their Proſperity;
'while he was reſolv'd to tread in the ſteps
'and to imitate the nobler Practices of
'his Predeceſſors, who were accuſtom'd
'to ſuppreſs the Stubborn and Obſtinate,
'but to comfort and ſupport the Peni-
'tent. —— And having thus ſpoken, he
commanded the Embaſſador to return to
his Maſter, and to repreſent to him the
Clemency of the *Romans*, of whoſe Cou-
rage

rage he had lately met with an unqueſtionable Demonſtration, bidding him to expect in a ſhort time the return of the Priſoners, according to his Deſires.

Having diſmiſt the *Perſian* Embaſſador, the Triumphant *Galerius* return'd into *Meſopotamia* to *Diocleſian*, cover'd with Lawrels, and the Trophies of an entire Victory, and was received with the teſtimonies of the greateſt Honour, as he juſtly deſerv'd. At *Niſibis*, *Galerius* met the Emperor, without whoſe Conſent himſelf, being only *Cæſar* at that time, could not confirm a Peace, and having made *Diocleſian* acquainted with the Particulars, conſulted with him what Articles they ſhould propoſe to the *Perſian* Monarch. When they had adjuſted the Affair, they ſent *Sicorius Probus*, the Emperor's Secretary, into *Perſia*, with the Terms of Agreement. The King treated the Embaſſador with all Civility; but, pretending ſome hinderance or other, carried him with him from place to place, till he came to *Aſprudis*, a River of *Media*, where the ſcattered remains of his routed Army, having rallyed, and embody'd themſelves, pitcht their Tents; there he granted the Em-

P. Patric. Excerp. p. 29. 30.

baſſador all the Demands of his Maſter the Emperor, except that the Place of Meeting ſhould be *Niſibis*: Upon which the *Perſian* Monarch's Wife and Children were reſtored him, and the Captive Nobility had their Liberty.

At this time *Caſtra* was founded by *Diocleſian*, ſays * *Ammianus Marcellinus*, (and † *Johannes Malela*,) which he calls *Cercuſium*; *Malela*, *Circiſium*; but the Subſcriptions of the *Chalcedon* Council, *Caſtro-Circon*, by a complication of both Names. For the Irruptions of the *Perſians* into the *Roman* Territories on the ſide of the *Euphrates* were ſo deſtructive to thoſe Provinces, that the || Emperors ſaw it very neceſſary to build ſeveral Cities and Caſtles upon the Banks of that River, to ſecure their Borders, particularly in that large and barren Deſart that lies between *Euphrateſia* and the *Perſian* Limits; in that Solitude *Diocleſian* erected three Caſtles built of unbak'd Bricks, of which number *Mambri* was one, which was ſituate five miles below *Zenobia*; but *Circeſium* ſtood three days Journey lower than *Zenobia*, and as far from *Palmyra*, being the laſt and remoteſt Caſtle that the *Romans* had on their Confines, a little below

* *Lib.* 23. *cap.* 5.

† *Par.* 2. *p.* 17.

|| *Procop. Perſic. l.*2. *c.*5. *p.* 97. *& de Æd. fic. l.*2. *c.*3. *p.* 42.

low *Thapſacus*; it was built very neat, and very ſtrong, on the confluence of the *Euphrates*, and the *Abora* (or *Chaborras*, as it is called in *Ptolemy*) two noble Rivers, which waſh the Walls of the City, being ſituated on the farther ſide of the *Euphrates*, in that very Angle which the two Rivers make when they meet: Beſides the Ramparts of the Caſtle, it was defended by a long Wall, which extended it ſelf for ſome miles on the ſides of both the Rivers, and was built in the figure of a Triangle. In times paſt it was a mean place, and not tenable; but *Dioclefian* fenced it with high Walls and Towers, when in the Confines of the *Barbarians* he fix'd the Limits of the *Roman* Empire, leſt the *Perſians* ſhould by that Paſs invade *Syria*, as they had in times paſt often done, to the great detriment of the Provinces, paricularly under * *Gallienus*, when they march'd their Army over this Ford, and ſack't and burnt *Antioch*. In † the Reign of *Julian the Apoſtate* it was garriſon'd with 6000 Men: and in the 13th Year of ‖ *Juſtinian*, when *Choſroes* brought his Forces thither, with a deſign that way to invade the Empire, he durſt not attempt it.

* *Ammian. ubi ſupr.*

† *Malel. par. 2. p. 17.*

‖ *Procop. ubi ſupr.*

it. After which time, how long it continued in the hands of the Emperors of the *East*, I know not. By all which it appears, that *Castra* was founded *Anno Christi* $27\frac{8}{9}$. and that at that time *Hierocles* was Governor of *Palmyra*.

CHAP. XXXIII.

IN the Reign of *Honorius*, *Palmyra* continued a *Roman* Garrison, the Town being then under the Inspection of the *Dux Phœniciæ*, as the *Notitiæ*, collected probably in that Emperor's Reign, affirm; commanded by a Colonel, or Præfect of the first *Illyrian* Legion, which was left there in Garrison. And in this state it was when *Stephen* the Grammarian of *Constantinople* publish'd his Work concerning the Cities; for he calls it expressly a *Castle of Syria* (Φρούριον τῆς Συρίας,) as *Hermolaus* his Epitomator, who dedicated his Breviate to the Emperor *Justinian* informs us. But though the Civil Privileges of the City

City were infring'd, it retain'd the Honour of an Epiſcopal See; this fell not under the cognizance of the *Pagan* Emperors, and for that reaſon was not fortified; the Church being careful to preſerve her Rights, when the City honour'd with the Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, had loſt her's.

Juſtinian having determin'd, in the Firſt Year of his Reign, *Ann. Chr.* 527. to make War upon the *Perſians*, reſolv'd to re-build *Palmyra*, ſays *Procopius*, who thus deſcribes it: That there was a City of *Phœnicia*, near Mount *Libanus*, called *Palmyra*, built of old in a Country that had no Neighbours but ſuch as were at a great diſtance, but moſt commodiouſly ſituated to obſerve the movements of the *Saracens*, the Enemies of the *Romans*, having been built on purpoſe to prevent the Irruptions of thoſe *Barbarians* into the *Roman* Territories. This City having been for a long time deſerted, *Juſtinian* ſtrengthened with extraordinary Fortifications, bringing Water to the Place for the ſupport of a ſtrong Garriſon which he fix'd there. (And to *Juſtinian* I am enclined to attribute the building the Caſtle of *Palmyra*, rather

Procop. de Ædific. l. 2. c. 11. p. 50. & l. 5. c. 1. p. 95.

Vid. *Journal* p. 84, 85, 103.

rather than to a Prince of the *Druſes*, who never, that we read of, enlarged their Territories as far as *Tadmur*; as alſo, that noble Aqueduct ſeems to be of his Foundation, which runs underground in a direct paſſage five miles, and is cover'd all the way with an Arch of baſtard-Marble, and a Path on both ſides the Chanel, large enough for two Perſons to walk a-breaſt in, with Ventiducts at every twenty yards diſtance, being built for the ſupply of the Garriſon with Water.) This was done (ſays * *Theophanes*) in the Firſt Year of *Juſtinian*, after the Death of his Uncle *Juſtin*, the Emperor having given Commiſſion to *Patricius* the *Armenian*, the Governor of the *Eaſt*, to ſee the Work done effectually, having furniſh'd him with Money to that purpoſe, commanding alſo the Governor of the *Eaſt* to make that Place the Seat of his conſtant Reſidence, and to preſerve the Churches from the Sacrilegious *Saracens*.

* *Chronogr.* p. 148.

Procop. Bel. Perſ. l. 2. c. 1. p. 88. Eight Years after this, when *Beliſarius* had reduced *Italy* under the Obedience of the Emperor, *Ann. Chr.* 535, *Choſroes* King of *Perſia* concerted his Affairs with *Alamundarus* one of the *Arabian* Princes, that

that he ſhould invade *Arethas* another of the *Saracen* Kings, but in the *Roman* Intereſt, upon the pretext, that *Arethas* detain'd from him a little Region called *Strata*, that lies to the South of the City *Palmyra*, but barren of all things being burnt with the fervent Sun, ſo that it produces neither Trees nor Fruits, and is deſtin'd only to the feeding of a few Cattle. Whereupon *Choſroes* made an Inroad into the *Roman* Territories, march'd his Army three days by the Banks of the River *Euphrates*, till he came to *Zenobia*, the Foundation of the Queen of *Palmyrene*; but finding the Region uninhabited, and deſtitute of all Neceſſaries, the City alſo refuſing to ſurrender, when required to do ſo, he retired to *Sura*, another City upon the *Euphrates*. Id. c. 5. p. 97.

CHAP. XXXIV.

ABout a hundred Years after the repairing of *Palmyra* by *Juſtinian*, it pleaſed God to permit *Mahomet*, an obſcure *Arab*, to ſcourge the Eaſtern Churches for their Hereſies, and their looſe

looſe Manners; and to lay the Foundations of an Empire, which, with the Religion call'd *Mahometan*, hath prevail'd over a great part of the known World, and in a very few years after the firſt appearance of that falſe Prophet, eſtabliſh't its Juriſdiction in *Tadmur*, where it prevails to this day.

Elmacin. l. 1. c. 1. In the Year of Chriſt, 623. the Second of the *Hegira*, *Choſroes* the Second, the King of *Perſia*, commanded all the Churches in *Syria* and *Meſopotamia* to be deſtroy'd, carrying away with him all the Gold and Silver, with all the Ornaments of thoſe Holy Places, even to the very Marble, into his own Country. It is probable, that *Tadmur* was not exempt from this dreadful Perſecution: But whatever its Fate was under *Choſroes*, it is unqueſtionable, that a few years afterwards it fell into the Hands of the *Mahometans*, who, *Anno Chriſti* 638, *Hegiræ* 16, having taken the Capital City of the *Perſians*, and routed *Izdigerdes* their laſt King, and ſeiz'd his Empire (the *Conſtantinopolitan* Princes not concerning themſelves, as they ought, to prevent theſe ſudden and large Conqueſts) may be preſumed to have made

Palmyra

Palmyra their own. After which time, I believe, the Fortifications were permitted to run to decay, it being no longer a Frontier, ſince *Perſia* was in their hands on one ſide of it, and *Arabia* on the other: And then alſo, I conjecture, it ceas'd to be a Mart, the *Mahometans* being in conſtant Hoſtility with the Chriſtians; ſo that the Caravans not being able to travel ſafely, the Trade with the *Perſian* Gulph was diverted and loſt; of which beneficial Commerce the City being deprived, and ſituate in a deſart Country, ſoon fell into Poverty and Ruine.

In the Year 659, the 39th. of the *Mahometan* Computation, when *Muavias* the Son of *Abuſofianus*, with his Army of *Syrians*, march'd againſt *Alis* the Fifth of *Mahomet*'s Succeſſors, he ſent *Dahacus* with 3000 Men to plunder *Iraca*, after which they fell into the Province of *Higjaza*, and having murther'd all the *Arabs* they met with, loaded themſelves with their Spoiles. Whereupon *Alis* ſent againſt him his General *Hagjar* the Son of *Adis*, with 4000 Men, who followed them as far as *Tadmur* within the *Elmac. l.* 1. *c.* 5.

Diſtrict

Diſtrict of *Emeſa* (for ſo it was reckon'd at that time) where they had a ſharp Engagement, in which *Dahacus* was routed. And by this it is very plain, that *Tadmur* came very early into the hands of the Succeſſors of *Mahomet*.

Id. l. c. 21. *Anno Chriſti* 746, of the *Hegira* 127, the People of *Emeſa*, at that time the Metropolis of the Country, rebell'd againſt *Merwan* the Caliph, who came againſt the Town with a ſtrong Force, and beſieged it: Whereupon the Inhabitants ſupplicated his Pardon, promiſed Obedience, and open'd their Gates. But when the Caliph had entred the City in the Head of 300 Men, the Citizens betook themſelves to their Arms, and ſlew all the Soldiers, *Merwan* himſelf hardly eſcaping through the Gate that leads to *Tadmur*, (the old *Roman* Road lay from *Emeſa* to *Apamea*, and thence to *Palmyra*, but the direct Road lay through the Deſart, without touching at *Apamea*;) and when *Suleiman* the Son of *Hisjam*, being created Caliph, in oppoſition to *Merwan*, by the Men of *Baſra*, was overthrown in Battle, he retired, firſt to *Emeſa*, which he fortified; but

but being a ſecond time beaten, he fled to *Tadmur*, leaving his Brother *Saidus* his Lieutenant in *Emeſa*. From which Paſſages it appears to me credible, that *Tadmur* was then a Place of little Trade or Intereſt, but a Sanctuary for the Unfortunate, for Banditti, and Free-booters, who fled thither, and found a ſecure retreat, being protected by the advantageous Situation of the Town, which for ſeveral Days Journey was on every ſide ſurrounded with wild and uninhabited Solitudes.

And if I might be allowed a bold Conjecture, how the River that ran by *Palmyra*, in *Ptolemy*'s time, and which *Marius Niger* ſays emptied it ſelf into the *Euphrates*, happen'd ſo to be loſt, that now there remain no footſteps of it; I would affirm, that it was buried in that terrible Earthquake that happen'd in thoſe Countries, *Anno Chriſti* 859, of the *Hegira* 245, which ruin'd many a noble City, threw down the Palace at *Bagdat*, did great damage to *Carræ*, *Emeſa*, *Damaſcus*, *Edeſſa*, *Laodicea*, and all along the Coaſt of *Syria*: for at this time, the Arabick Hiſtorian avers, that a River vaniſh't (nor is it unuſual in ſuch moſt *Elmacin. l.* 2. *c.* 11.

moſt violent Concuſſions) being ſwallowed up of the Earth, that no Man ever could diſcover what new Channel it had found under ground. At this time, 'tis highly probable, *Tadmur* did not eſcape, when all the neighbouring Cities were harraſt, and then the River might be abſorpt. Nor does *Juſtinian*'s bringing Water to *Tadmur*, for the ſervice of his Garriſon, contradict this Opinion, becauſe a River may be for other uſes, and yet not fit for Drink, many other of the Springs in thoſe Countries being brackiſh and ſulphurous.

Itiner. p. 57, 58. About the Year of Chriſt 1172, *Benjamin Tudelenſis* the Jew, among other Parts of the Eaſt which he viſited in his Travels, touch'd at *Tadmur*, and he informs us (though he is miſtaken in the exact diſtances of Places) that from *Baalbeck* (or *Baalath*) built by *Solomon* in the Valley of *Libanus*, to *Tadmur* in the Deſart, was four Days Journey; that *Solomon* built it of large Stones, and fenced it with a ſtrong Wall; that it was built in a Deſart far from any Inhabitants; and that in his time there were in the City 2000 ſtout Jews, who waged War with the Chriſtians, and with the *Arabs*

Arabs the Subjects of Sultan *Noraldin*, but were ready to aſſiſt their Neighbours the *Iſhmaelites*. From which Paſſage it appears, that in *Benjamin*'s time, the Eaſtern Jews, a Race of known Wanderers, had neſted in *Tadmur*, deſerted probably by the *Arabs*, and that they lived by Rapine and Inroads.

When the *Caliphs* of *Babylon* began to loſe their Empire, I queſtion not but *Tadmur* became ſubject to the *Mamalukes*; and upon the fall of their Empire, to the *Grand Signior*, under whoſe Juriſdiction they now live, though govern'd by a Prince of their own, and by the Uſage of our *Engliſh* Merchants, when *Melham* was their *Emir*, it is put paſt all doubt that they have not forgotten, to this day, the Cuſtom of their Anceſtors, of robbing all that fall into their hands; for which Rapines, and their other ill management, their *Emirs* are frequently depoſed, and ſometimes ſtrangled by the *Ottoman Port*; ſo *Melham*, who robb'd the *Engliſh* Merchants, was in ſome time after ſurpriz'd by the Baſſa of *Aleppo*, and put to death. *Haſſine*, his Succeſſor, was, *Anno* 1693, depoſed, and one *Dor* ſubſtituted the *Emir* of thoſe *Arabs*. Thus

Thus I have, according to the beſt of my Underſtanding, given the Hiſtory of *Palmyra*, from its firſt Foundation, to the preſent Age: And by this Account we may learn, that Cities, as well as their Inhabitants, have their Infancy and Youth, their Riper Years, and their Decrepit Days; that nothing can reſiſt the Inſults of Time, and the Barbarity of Ungovernable Conquerors; and that it is impoſſible to erect a Monument to our Memory, that ſhall be laſting, but a noble Series of Vertuous and Brave Actions, that they only reſcue from Oblivion, and give Immortality, when Marbles ſhall Moulder into Duſt, and the World it ſelf ſhall be no more.

FINIS.

THE APPENDIX:

OR,

Critical Obſervations

Upon the *Names* of

Palmyra and *Tadmur*;

AND THE

INHABITANTS,

Their Offices and Religion.

Together with an Account of

Vaballathus and *Longinus*:

AND

A *Commentary* on the *Inſcriptions*.

Inſcriptiones Palmyrenæ.

I.

Sepulchralia.

I.

1. ΤΟ ΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΤΑΦΕΩ-ΝΟC ΕΚΤΙCΕΝ ΕΞ ΙΔΙΩΝ CΕΠΤΙΜΙΟC ΟΔΑΙΝΑΘΟC Ο ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΟC CΥΝΚΛΗΤ[ΙΚΟC] ΑΙΡΑΝΟΥ ΟΥΑ-ΒΑΛΛΑΘΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΑCΩΡΟΥ ΑΥ-ΤΩΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΥΙΟΙC ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΥΙΩ-ΝΟΙC ΕΙC ΤΟ ΠΑΝ-ΤΕΛΕC ΑΙΩΝΙΟΝ ΤΕΙΜΗΝ.

II.

2. ΜΑΡΘΕΙΝ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΠΑΔΗΤΟΥ ΟΥΑΒΑΛΛΑΘΟΥ ΤΟΥ CΥΜΩΝΟΥ CΟΡΑΙΧΟC ΑΙΡΑΝΟΥ ΑΝΗΡ ΑΥΤΗC ΜΝΗΜΗC ΕΝΕΚΕΝ ΜΗΝΕΙ ΔΥCΤΡΩ ΤΟΥ ϟΥ ΕΤΟΥC.

III.

3. ΤΟ ΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝ ΕΚΤΙCΑΝ ΕΚΑΒΗΛΕC ΜΑΝΝΑΙΟC COΧΑΕΙC ΜΑΛΧΟC ΟΥΑΒΑΛΛΑΘΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΝΝΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΛΑΒΗΛΟΥ ΑΥΤῳ ΚΑΙ ΥΙΟΙC ΕΤΟΥC ΔΙΥ ΜΗΝΟC ΞΑΝΔΙΚΟΥ.

IV.

4. ΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝ ΑΙωΝΙΟΝ ΓΕΡΑC ωΚΟΔΟΜΗCΕΝ ΓΙΧΟC ΜΟΚΙΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΛΚΙΛΑCΙCΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΑ ..... ΟΥ ΕΙCΤΕ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΥΙΟΥC ΚΑΙ ΕΚΓΟΝΟΥC ΕΤΟΥC ΔΙΓ ΜΗΝΕΙ ΞΑΝΔΙΚῳ.

II.

Elogia Honoraria.

I.

Publica ex decreto Senatûs.

5. ΗΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟC ΑΛΙ-ΛΑΜΕΝΑ ΠΑΝΟΥ ΜΟΚΙΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΡΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΘΘΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΙΡΑΝΗΝ

ΑΙΡΑΝΗΝ ΤΟΝ ΠΑΤϵΡΑ ΑΥΤΟΥ ϵΥϹϵΒϵΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΔΑϹ Κ[ΑΙ] ΠΑΝΤΙ ΤΡΟΠΩ [ϵΥ]ϹϵΙΜΩϹ ΑΡϵϹΑΝΤΑϹ ΤΗ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΡΙΟΙϹ ΘϵΟΙϹ ΤϵΙΜΗϹ ΧΑΡΙΝ ϵΤΟΥϹ ΝΥ Λ ΜΗΝΟϹ ΞΑΝΔΙΚΟΥ.

II.

6. Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟϹ ΒΑΡϵΙΧϵΙΝ ΑΜΡΙϹΑΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΙΑΡΙΒΩΛϵΟΥϹ ΚΑΙ ΜΟΚΙΜΟΝ ΥΙΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ϵΥϹϵΒϵΙϹ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΔΑϹ ΤϵΙΜΗϹ ΧΑΡΙΝ....

III.

7. Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟϹ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΝ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝ ΖΗΝΟΒΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΖΑΒΔΙΛΑΝ ΔΙϹΜΑΛΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΝΑϹϹΟΥΜΟΥ ϹΤΡΑΤΗΓΗϹΑΝΤΑ ϵΝ ϵΠΙΔΗΜΙΑ ΘϵΟΥ ΑΛϵΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΥΠΗΡϵΤΗϹΑΝΤΑ ΠΑΡΟΥϹΙΑ ΔΙΗΝϵΚϵΙ ΡΟΥΤΙΛΛΙΟΥ ΚΡΙϹΠϵΙΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΗΓΗϹΑΜϵΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ϵΠΙΔΗΜΗϹΑΣΑΙϹ ΘΥΗΞΙΛΛΑΤΙΟϹΙΝ ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΗϹΑΝΤΑΤϵ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΟΝΙϹΩΝΑ ΦϵΙΔΗϹΑΝΤΑ ΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΩϹ ΠΟΛϵΙΤϵΥϹΑΜϵΝΟΝ ΩϹ

ΔΙΑ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΗΘΕΝΤΑ ΥΠΟ ΘΕΟΥ ΙΑΡΙΒΩΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΥΠΟ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΥ ..... ΤΟΥ ΕΞΟΧΩΤΑΤΟΥ ΕΠΑΡΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ ΠΡΑΙΤΩΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΗC ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟC ΤΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΝ ΤΕΙΜΗC ΧΑΡΙΝ ΕΤΟΥC ΔΝΦ.

IV.

8. Η ΒΟΥΛ[Η ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗ]ΜΟC CΕΠΤΙΜΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΡΑΤΙCΤΟΝ Ε[ΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΝ C]ΕΒΑCΤΟΥ ΔΟΥ-ΚΗΝ[ΑΡΙΟΝ] .... ΕΟΔΟΤΗΝ ΤΗC ΜΗΤ[ΡΟΚΟΛΩ] ΝΕΙΑCΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΚΟ-ΚΟΜΙCΑ[ΝΤΑ Τ]ΑC CΥΝΟΔΙΑC ΕΞ ΙΔΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΗΘΕΝΤΑ ΥΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΕΜΠΟΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΜ-ΠΡΩC CΤΡΑΤΗΓΗCΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ Α-ΓΟΡΑΜΟΜΗCΑΝΤΑ ΤΗC ΑΥ-ΤΗC ΜΗΤΡΟΚΟΛΩΝΕΙΑC ΚΑΙ ΠΛΕΙCΤΑ ΟΙΚΟΘΕΝ ΑΝΑΛΩCΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΕCΑΝΤΑ ΤΗΤΕ ΑΥΤΗ ΒΟΥ-ΛΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΔΗΜΩ ΚΑΙ ΝΥΝΕΙ ΛΑΜ-ΠΡΩC CΥΜΠΟCΙΑΡΧΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟC ΒΗΛΟΥ Ι[Ε]ΡΩΝ ΤΕΙΜΗC ΕΝΕΚΕΝ ΕΤ ..... ΞΑΝΔΙΚΩ.

II.

Elogia Honoraria privata.

I.

9. ΙΟΥΛΙΟΝ ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝ ΖΕΒΕΙΔΑΝ ΜΟΚΙΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΖΕΒΕΙΔΟΥ ..... ΑCΘωΡΟΒΑΙΔΑΙΟΙ CΥΝ Α[Υ]Τω ΚΑΤΕΛΘΟΝΤΕC ΕΙC ΟΛΟΓΕCΙΑΔΑ ΕΝΠΟΡΟΙΑΝ ΕCΤΗCΑΝ ΑΡΕCΑΝΤΑ ΑΥΤΟΙC ΤΕΙΜΗC ΧΑΡΙΝ ΞΑΝΔΙΚω ΤΟΥ ΗΝΦ ΕΤΟΥC....

II.

10. CΕΠΤΙΜΙΟΝ ΟΥΟΡωΔΗΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΡΑΤΙCΤΟΝ ΕΠΙΤΡΟΠΟΝ CΕΒΑCΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΚΗΝΑΡΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ (*a*) ΑΡΟΑΠΕΤΗΝ ΙΟΥΛΙΟC ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟC (*b*) ΕΛΑΜΗC ΚΑCCΙΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ Μ[Ε]ΛΕΝΑΙΟΥ ΙΠΠΕΥC (*c*) ΡωΜΑΙωΝ ΤΟΝ (*d*) ΦΙΛΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟCΤΑΤΗΝ ΕΤΟΥC ΗΟΦ.. ΜΗΝΕΙ ΞΑΝΔΙΚω.

III.

11. CΕΒΤΙΜ[ΙΟΝ ΟΥΟΡωΔΗΝ] ΤΟΝ ΚΡΑ[ΤΙCΤΟΝ ΕΠΙΤΡΟ]ΠΟΝ CΕΒΑC[ΤΟΥ ΔΟΥΚ]ΗΝΑΡΙΟΝ ΚΑ[Ι ΑΡΟΑΠΕ]ΤΗΝ

(*a*) In another Copy, taken by Mr. *Goodyear*, ΑΡ.. ΑΠΗΤΗΝ: in a third, ΑΡΑΠΗΤΗΝ.
(*b*) CΑΝΔΗC ΜΑCCΙΑΝΟΙ ΤΟΥ Μ.. ΑΕΝΑΙΟΥ: in a third, ΤΟΥ ΤΟΥΜΑΕΑΟΥ. (*c*) ΡΟΥΜΑωΝ. (*d*) ΦΙΜΟΝ.

ΙΟΥΛΙΟϹ ΑΥ[ΡΗΛΙ]ΟϹ Ϲ[ΑΛΜΗϹ] ΠΥΙΛϹΟϹ Μ[ϵΛϵΝΑΙ]ΟϹ ΜΑΛωχΑ ΝΑϹϹΟΥΜΟ[Υ] Ο ΚΡΑΤΙϹΤΟϹ ΤΟΝ [ΦΙΛΟΝ]· ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟϹΤΑΤΗΝ ΤϵΙΜΗϹ ϵΝϵΚϵΝ ϵΤΟΥϹ.....[ΜΗ-ΝϵΙ Ξ]ΑΝΔΙΚω.

IV.

12. ϹϵΠΤΙΜΙΟΝ ΑΙΡΑΝΗΝ ΟΔΑΙ-ΝΑϵϹΥ ΤΟΝ ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΟΝ ϹΥΝ-ΚΛΗΤΙΚΟΝ.

V.

13. ϵΞΑ.....ΝΤωΝ ΑΥΡΗΛΙ... ΡΗΛΙΟΔωΡ.....ϹΤΡΑΤΙωΤΗϹ Λϵ..... ΚΗϹΤΩΝ ΠΑΤΡΩΝ ΤϵΙΜΗϹ ΚΑΙ ϵΥ-ΧΑΡΙϹΤΙΑϹ ΧΑΡΙΝ ϵΤΟΥϹ ΓΞΦ.

VI.

14....ΥΠΙΛΙΟΝ ΟΥΟΡωΔΗΝ [ϹΥΝ-ΚΛ]ΗΤΙΚΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΒΟΥΛϵΥΤΗΝ ΠΑΛΜΥΡΗΝΟΝ ΒΗΔΑ ΚΑΒΟϹΑΡϹΑ ΤΟΝ ΦΙ[ΛΟΝ] ΤϵΙΜΗϹ ΧΑΡΙΝ ϵ-ΤΟΥϹ ΟΦ.

VII.

15. ΜΑΛϵΝΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΝ ΙΑΡΑΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΡΑΛΙΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑ-ΤϵΑ ΓϵΝΟΜϵΝΟΝ ΤΟ ΔϵΥΤϵΡΟΝ ϵΠΙΔΗΜΙ[Α] ΘϵΟΥ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ Α-ΛΙΜΜΑ

ΛΙΜΜΑ ΠΑΡΑCΧΟΤΑ ΞЄΝΟΙC ΤЄ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛЄΙΤΑ[ΙC.]

ЄΝΗ . . . Ν ΥΠΗΡЄΤΗCΑΝΤΑ ΤΗΤ . . . . . [illegible]ΑΤЄΥΜΑ ΤΟΥ . . . . . ΥΠΟ . . . [illegible]ΚΑΙ . . . . . ΤΟΝ ΝΑΟΝ ΤΟΝ . . . . ΔΙΟC . . . . ΝΤωΤ . . . . . .

VIII.

Arſoffæ in Monaſterio Maronitarum.

16. + ΕΠΙ ΣΕΡΓΙȣ ΕΠΙΣΚ°. Τȣ ΕΥΝΓΕΝ̃ ΜΑΡωΝΙȣ Τȣ ΧωΡΕΠΙΣΚ°.

III.

Anathemata.

17. ΔΙΙ ΥΨΙCΤω ΜЄΓΙCΤω ΚΑΙ ЄΠΗΚΟω ΒωΛΑΝΟC ΖΗΝΟΒΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΙΡΑΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΟΚΙΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΘΘΑ ЄΠΙΜЄΛЄΤΗCΟΗ ΑΙΡЄΘЄΙC ЄΦΚΑC ΠΗΓΗC ΥΠΟ ΙΑΡΙΒωΛΟΥ ΘЄΟΥ ΤΟΝ Βω[ΜΟΝ] ЄΞ ΙΔΙωΝ ΑΝЄΘΗΚЄΝ ЄΤΟΥC ΔΟΥ ΜΗΝΟC ΥΠЄΡΒЄΡЄΤΑΙΟΥ Κ.

IV. VOTA.

IV.

VOTA.

Tievæ.

18. ΔΙΙ ΜΕΓΙCΤω ΚΕΡΑΤΝΙω ΤΠΕΡ Cω-ΤΗΡΙΑC ΤΡΑ. ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥ CΕΒ .... ΤΟΥ ΚΤΡΙΟΥ ΑΓΑΘΑΝΓΕΛΟC ΑΒΙΛΗΝΟC ΤΗC ΔΕΚΑΠΟΛΕΟC ΤΗΝ ΚΑΜΑΡΑΝ ωΚΟΔΟΜΗCΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΚΛΙΝΗ .... ΕΞ ΙΔΙωΝ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΕΤΟΥC ΕΜΥ ΜΗΝΟC ΑωΟΥ.

V.

Imperatorum Memoriæ.

19. ..... *es Orbis & Propagatores Generis Humani, D. D. N. N. Diocletianus* ..... *ſimi Impp. & Conſtantius, & Maximianus Nobb. Cæſ. Caſtra feliciter condiderunt.*

..... *ntes Oſſiano Hieroclete V. P. Præſ. Provinciæ D. N. M. O. eorum.*

Briadenæ.

ΑΦΙΕΡωΘΗ ΑΑΙ ΛΙΝΔΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΜΦ ΕΤΟΥC
ΔΙΑ ΜΑΤΕΡΝΟΥ Κ[ΑΙ Π]ΑΠΠΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΑΙΚΟΥ ΚΝΕΥΜΝ.

——— Y ——— N

Andrenæ.

Andrenæ.

I.

IЄYΞAMЄNOC ЄΓω IωANNHC ЄΠЄ-
TYxA —— KAI ЄYxAPICTωN Tω Θω
ΠPOC —— ЄNIKA YΠЄP TωN AMAP-
TIωN MON.

II.

Ad Portam Australem.

AYTH H ΠYΛH TΔ KYP . . ΔIKAIOI
EIΣEΛEYΣONTAI EN AYΓH.

III.

Ad Portam Occidentalem.

X
Θ M Γ
Γ

IV.

YPION
PON
MIXAHΛ.

V.

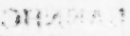
IAYTI . . .
ΛIKA . . .

VI.

VI.

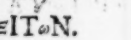
VII.

VIII.



IX.

X.



THE

THE APPENDIX.

HAving finiſh'd my primary Task, I ſhall apply my ſelf to ſome other Conſiderations of a ſimilar nature; which I was unwilling to interweave with the thread of the Hiſtory, that the Diſcourſe might appear uniform, and all of a-piece: I have therefore reſerved for this Appendix *ſuch Critical Obſervations as I had made upon the Names of the Place, and of the Inhabitants, with the*

the Honorary Offices which the Men of Eminence bore in the City: To which I have added an Account of their Idolatry; with a ſhort ſeparate Hiſtory of **Vaballathus** *and* **Longinus**, *two Great Men of* **Palmyra**; *intending to conclude the Diſſertations with ſome Remarks upon the Inſcriptions found among the Ruines of this once Illuſtrious City.*

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

Of the Names Tadmur, *and* Palmyra.

THE preceding Hiſtory having given an Account of the *Foundation* of *Palmyra*, I ſhall in this Chapter account for the *Names* which were given it, in the Syriac Language *Tadmur*, but in the Greek *Palmyra*, (ſays *Joſephus*.)

And firſt of *Tadmur*, תַּדְמֹר בַּמִּדְבָּר, in the Hebrew, 2 *Chron*. 8. 34. Θεοδμὼς ἐν ἐρήμῳ, as the *Septuagint*. Or as the *Alexandrian* Copy, much nearer to the Original, Θεδμός. The F. *Harduin* therefore very ineptly, in his Notes on *Pliny*, calls it *Theudemer*; and *Joſephus* as inartificially, Θαδαμόρα. It muſt be confeſt, that St. *Hierom*, in *Ezek*. 47. (and he is followed by Monſieur *Spon*, and others) affirms, that *Thamar* in the Prophet, who is ſtating the Limits of *Judæa* to the South, is no other than *Tadmur*; *Hic verò terminus plagæ auſtralis*;

auſtralis ; h. e. meridianæ, incipit à Thamar, quæ urbs in ſolitudine eſt, quam & Solomon miris operibus inſtruxit, & hodiè Palmyra nuncupatur, Hebreóque ſermone Thamar dicitur, quæ in linguâ noſtrâ Palma ſonat : And I was once enclinable to have corrected the Tranſlation of the *Septuagint* from the *Hebrew* ; and inſtead of what we now read, Καὶ τὸ πρὸς νότον ἀπὸ Θαιμὰν καὶ Φοινικῶν ἕως ὕδατος Μερειμὰθ Καδήμ, to have read, Ἀπὸ Θαιμὰ τῶν Φοινικῶν. from *Thamar*, the *City of Palm-Trees*, or *Palmyra :* But I have ſince altered my Opinion, becauſe *Thamar* is expreſly ſaid to be the Border of *Judæa* to the South, whereas *Palmyra* lies near directly Eaſt from *Jeruſalem*, and am apt to believe that St. *Hierom* was deceived by the like ſignification of the words ; *Tamar* in Hebrew (not *Tadmur*) ſignifying a *Palm-Tree*, while *Palmyra* is not allowed to be of a *Roman*, but *Greek* Original ; and if ſo, cannot be derived from *Palma*, a pure *Latin* word ; and that the *Septuagint* read the Text aright, *Theman* being toward the South of *Judæa*, *Theman*, ſays the *Targum* of *Jonathan*, i.e. *Je-*

i. e. *Jericho*, a Town (ſays *Euſebius de Locis Hebr.*) 15 Miles diſtant from *Petra* in *Arabia*, and is, in the Old Teſtament, often put for the whole Countrey South of *Judæa*; the Φοινικῶν in the *Septuagint* being not far diſtant from it, as *Strabo* (*l.* 16. *p.* 259.) affirms, 'That 'Petra is the Metropolis of *Arabia Na-* 'batæa; That the Countrey round it is 'Deſart, eſpecially towards *Judæa*; That 'it is ſituate three or four Days Jour-'ney from *Jericho*, and five from the 'Palmetum, or *City of Palm-Trees*, as I would render it.

I was alſo once of the Opinion, that *Palmyra* had its Denomination from the Palm-Trees, as St. *Jerom* ſays expreſly, though *Tadmur* be not a word of that ſignification, (but ſeems to me to be derived rather from תמר implying its admirable and ſtupendous Situation, probably becauſe a fertile Spot of Ground in the midſt of a vaſt Deſart.) But becauſe *Joſephus* ſeems to determine it to be of Greek Original, I cannot think it derived from Παλμύτης, an *Ægyptian Deity*; for what had the Gods of *Ægypt* to do near the Banks of *Euphrates*? nor from Πάλμως, a *King* or *Father*; but from Πάλμη, which

ſignifies a *Perſian* Shield; or *Parma*, as the Latins render it, (*Heſych.* Πάλμυν, Γέρρον, *Gloſſar. Vet.* Γέρρον ἀσπίδα Περσικήν.) For the *Palmyrenians* were near Neighbours to the *Perſians*, while at a great diſtance from either *Rome* or *Egypt*, and from them with whom they maintain'd a continual Commerce, might receive the Name of their City, which very well agrees to a ſtrong Frontier Town, built for the defence of the Borders; and this exactly quadrates with the Arabick دمار *Damar, Præſidium.* And we may as well derive *Palmyrene* from a Perſick Original, as the neighbouring Province *Oſrhoene* (the two Provinces being often confounded, for *Photius Cod.* σξέ. ſtyles *Zenobia* Τῶν Οσρωνῶν Βασιλίς, *The Queen of Oſrhoene,*) which was without any diſpute ſo denominated from *Oſroes* (or *Choſroes*) the King of that Country, and a Confederate of the *Perſians*, who gave his Name to *Edeſſa*, and the Territory round it. For I cannot be of the mind of *Malela*, though he ſeems, by his often mentioning it, to be fond of his Etymology, that it was called *Palmyra*, διὰ τὸ πάλαι μοῖραν γενέσθαι τῦ

Procop. l. 1. Perſ. c. 17. p. 49.

Par. 1. p. 182. Par. 2. p. 153.

τὸν κάμπον τῆς Γολιάθ, becauſe it was the Place where *Goliath* received his Fate at the Hands of King *David*; though the Humour of giving Names to Cities or Countreys, from ſuch Fabulous Encounters, hath not been altogether diſus'd; for ſays *Damaſcius* (*apud Phod. Cot.* 242.) ſome affirmed, that his Native City, *Damaſcus*, was ſo called from *Aſcus*, a Giant whom *Jupiter* there overcame, (ἀπὸ τοῦ δαμάσαι τὸν Ἄσκον:) And, I fear, ſome of our Hiſtorians, zealous for the Honour of *Brute*, will be found guilty of the ſame Crime.

But though I cannot believe the Fiction of *David*'s ſlaying *Goliath* at *Palmyra*, yet it is very probable, that that ſtout and victorious Prince might have extended his Empire as far as *Palmyra*, when he invaded *Hadad-Ezer* King of *Soba*, (2 *Sam.* 8. 3. 1 *Chron.* 18. 3.) the *Euphrates* being the Eaſtern Limit of *Syria Sobah* (from beyond which River *Hadad-Ezer* brought his Auxiliaries, *i. e.* from *Meſopotamia*, 2 *Sam.* 10. 16. there called *Syria* beyond the River,) as *Damaſcus* was the Weſtern: And *Palmyra* is ſaid, 2 *Chron.* 8. 3,4. to be ſituated in *Hamath Soba*, or *Syria Soba*; and the two Cities of *Arabia the Deſart*, *Sabe*

Bochart. Spanhem. Hiſt. Jud. & Hyde Not. in Abr. Peritzol. p. 60.

and *Barathena* in *Ptolomy*, ſeem to be *Soba* and *Berothai*, Cities of the *Sabeans*, mention'd in the Sacred Writings.

Caſtaldus and *Ortelius* affirm that *Palmyra* is now called *Amegara*; but *Sanſon* ſays it is called *Faid*, as do *Nicoloſius* in his *Hercules Siculus*, and others; whereas it ſtill retains its old Denomination *Tadhmur*, as it always did among the *Syrians* and *Arabs*. The old Geographer of *Ravenna* reckons it among the Cities of *Cæle-Syria*, (for ſo I will adventure to correct that Author, *Syria Cilenſis Comagenis*, which Monſieur *Porcheron* reads *Syria Seleucis*, but it ſhould be read *Syria Cele in Comagenis*,) but calls it *Malmiora*, which the Editor ſays is miſtaken for *Palmyra*, and with him I agree. Tho' perhaps *Tamira* in the ſame Author may be ſet for *Tadmira* (as *Hepolis* for *Heliopolis*) for that Geographer lived in the 7th Century, when that City having fallen into the Hands of the *Arabs*, had recover'd its ancient *Syriack*, or *Arabick* Name.

Par. 3. *p.* 263.

L. 2. *p.* 72.

Ib.

I have in the *Hiſtory* affirm'd, from the Authority of * *Ulpian*, that *Caracalla* made *Palmyra* a Colony *Juris Italici*; but if I might be allowed a Conjecture, I could think, that *Septimius Severus* made

* *Lib.* 1. *Cenſibus.*

made it a Colony, as he did ſeveral other Cities in that Country, *Rheſaina*, *Tyrus*, *Laodicea*, *Niſibis*, and *Singara*, which from his Name were ſtiled in the Coins *Septimia Rheſaina*, *Colonia Septimia Tyrus*, *Septimia Colonia Laodicea*, *Septimia Colonia Niſibis*, (or as it is always in the Coins, Νέσιβις,) but that his Son *Caracalla* gave it the Priviledges of an *Italian* City, as *Ulpian* affirms; for it ſeems to me paſt all doubt, from the frequent uſe of the Names *Septimius*, and *Septimia*, by the Inhabitants of *Palmyra*, who gave it as a Prænomen to the People of both Sexes, of the beſt Families and Condition, that the Citizens of *Tadmur* had a very reverend regard for the Emperor *Septimius Severus*; but we want Coins to determine this Queſtion.

In an *Inſcription*, about the Year 296. (for I am willing to ſupply the Date from the former *Inſcription*, *pag.* 98. becauſe they both treat of the ſame Perſon) *Tadmur* is called Μητροπολωνείτις, as if it were the Mother of other Colonies, ſays the Editor, (a word that occurs not in any Author) which was a very honourable appellation, the Colonies being obliged τὰ γέρα νομιζόμενα διδόναι (*i. e.* τιμὰς καὶ προεδρίας) to

Pag. 99. *Journal.*

Thucyd. l. 1. § 25. *p.* 15. *Ed. Ox. cum Schol.*

Honour their Mother City, and to give it the Preference the Law had appointed; but the word should be divided into Μητρό, *i. e.* Μητρόπολις and Κολωνία, *Palmyra* being both a Metropolis and a Colony, as were several other Cities in *Syria*, as appears from the Coins. *Colonia Damascus Metropolis.* Ἀντιοχέων μητρο. κολων. *Sephyrus Metropolis Colonia. Tyrus Metropolis Colonia.*

Now, though to be a *Roman* Colony, was a great Honour, and entitled the City to great Priviledges; yet it must be acknowledged that it left the City deprived of its former unlimited Liberty: for in time past it was govern'd by its own Statutes; but when made a Colony, was under the *Roman* Jurisdiction, paid Submission to their Laws, and Tribute to the Emperors, from which it was before exempt; and if a Frontier Town, as *Palmyra* was, it admitted of a *Roman* Garrison (the First Legion of the *Illyrians* being posted there) with the Liberty reserv'd to the Citizens, that they were to be Listed as *Romans* into their Legions, not as Auxiliaries.

Agel. lib. 16. c. 13. Harduin. Antivrhet. p. 37, 52.

In the *Ecclesiastick Notitia*, *Palmyra* was at first a Metropolitan, as long as it was the Chief City of the Province,

i. e.

i. e. till its Destruction by *Aurelian.* At the Division of the Empire by *Constantine the Great*, it was a Suffragan See under the Archbishop of *Damascus*, who, in the Sixth Act of the Council held at *Chalcedon*, thus subscribes for the Bishops of his Province, Θεόδωρος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Μητροπόλεως Δαμάσκου, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπ' ἐμὲ θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων Ἰωάννου πόλεως Παλμύρας, &c. From whence also it appears that that Church was Orthodox in those days; and that *Palmyra* was the first of the Suffragans to that Metropolitan; but afterward it became subject to the Metropolitan of *Edessa*, as appears by the *Notitia* of the Emperor *Leo*; since which time it hath no longer a place in the Ecclesiastical Account, Christianity having been, for some Ages, totally banisht from *Palmyrene*

Whether the Merchants, who Travell'd from *Syria* to *Seleucia*, and *Babylon*, thro' the Country of the *Arabes Scenitæ*, thro' the *Malii*, and their Desarts, and Ferried over the *Euphrates* near *Anthemusia* in *Mesopotamia*, a City Situate near the river *Aborrhas*, took *Palmyra* in their way, I cannot determine; nor whether *Alexander the Great* marcht his Army thro' or by that City, *Strab. lib. 16. p. 747.*

when having left *Egypt*, and paſt thro' *Phænicia* to *Thapſacus*, he carried his Troops over the *Euphrates*; ſince none of the Writers of the Atchievements of that Miraculous Prince take any notice of *Palmyra*; tho' it be to me unqueſtionable, that *Palmyra* ſubmitted to that irreſiſtible Conqueror, as did many other Cities, of whom the Hiſtorians make not any mention.

The Situation of the City, as to its Longitude and Latitude, is differently accounted for by the Writers of the Country, the *Arabs* (as the very Learned Dr. *Hyde* informs me) *Iſmael Abul-Feda*, the Prince of *Hamah*. i. e. of that part of *Syria*, wherein *Tadmur* was Situate, (who was Born in the Year 672. of the *Mahometan Æra*, and conſtituted the Lord of the Country in the Year 710. of the ſame Computation) confeſſes, that his Country-men, who make it part of *Arabia*, are not agreed, three ſeveral Authors placing it in different degrees.

Geograph. MS.

The firſt fixes it in *Long.* 67.40. *Lat.* 34.00.
The ſecond in *Long.* 67. 40. *Lat.* 30. 00.
The third in *Long.* 64. 00. *Lat.* 33. 50.

But *Calcaſhendi*, another *Arabian* Author, gives this Account out of other Writters,

Tom. 1. f. 321.

Writers, as the Excellent Maſter of the Oriental Languages, Dr. *Hyde* Tranſlates him—"As for the Territory of "*Tadmur*— the Author of the Book "*Al Tarîph* ſays, it is Situate between "the Two Villages and *Rahba*, and is "reckon'd to be in *Arabia*, in the fourth "of the Seven Climes: The Author of "the Book of Longitudes ſays, its Lon-"gitude is 62 degrees, and its Latitude "34 degrees. The Lord of *Hamath* "(i. e. *Abulpheda*) ſays, it belongs to "the Territory of *Hems* (i. e. *Emeſa*) "on the Eaſt-ſide of it, and that moſt "of its Soil is ſaltiſh; that in it there "is a ſort of ſoure Plant called *Nagjel*, "and alſo *Olives*. There are likewiſe "very great, and Ancient Ruins, con-"ſiſting of Pillars, and Rocks, and a "Caſtle with a Wall. The Author of "the Book, called, *Al Raud Almîtar* "ſays, that it was Originally an Anci-"ent City, which the Spirits Built for "*Solomon*, with extraordinary Fortifi-"cations. It was called *Tadmur* from "*Tadmur* the Daughter of *Haſſân*, "whoſe Sepulchre is there, and *Solo-"mon* did Inhabit it after her. The Au-"thor of the Book *Al-Azîzi* ſaith, that "between *Tadmur* and *Damaſcus* are 59 "Miles;

" Miles; between *Tadmur* and *Rahba* " 102 Miles. The Lord of *Hamath* ſays, " it is from *Hem*'s about three Stations. The only difference in the Accounts is in this, that the Longitude of *Palmyra* in words at length, out of the Book of Longitudes, is 62. which in *Abulpheda*'s Geography is 67. where it is expreſt in Letters; which muſt be attributed to the Careleſneſs of the Tranſcribers.

I was a little ſurpriz'd, when reading *Al Edriſi* (commonly, but wrongly, call'd the *Nubian Geographer*) I found a *Tademyr* in *Spain*, which comprehended the Kingdoms of *Murcia* and *Tarragon*, and was enclined to believe that the *Caliph* ſent a Colony from the *Syrian Tadmur* (as well as from the other Cities of his vaſt Dominions) to People *Spain*, when he had conquer'd it, who from their own Native City gave the Name to that part of *Spain*: But my Learned and much honoured Friend Dr. *Bernard*, has inform'd me, that the *Spaniſh Tademir* may be derived, as to Name, and no otherwiſe, from the *Syrian Tadmor*, or from תדמרא *Tadmera*, *Meſcella Populi*, from a mixture of ſeveral Nations inhabiting there; as *Tidal*, in Holy Writ, is called the *King of the Nations*; and

and *Galilee* ſtiled *Galilee of the Gentiles.*

The *Arabs* of this Age ſay, that in ancient time *Solomon Ebn el Doud* (or the Son of *David*) built a City in that Place, which being deſtroyed, was re-edify'd by a ſtrange People; and the preſent Inhabitants pretend to ſhow you the top of a Mountain where one of *Solomon*'s Concubines lies buried, as if that Great King had fix'd his Court there, having deſtin'd it to his Retirement and Pleaſures, as *Joſephus* ſeems to affirm.

CHAP. II.

Of the Names of the Palmyrenians.

FRom the Names of the *City*, I ſhall proceed to conſider the Names of the Inhabitants, and I queſtion not, but as their firſt Language was *Hebrew*, or *Syriack*, ſo the People had *Syriack*, or *Hebrew* Names. This wants no further Confirmation, the *Inſcriptions* put it paſt all doubt, *Odenathus*, *Airanes*, *Vaballathus*, *Mocimus*, *Orodes*, *Zabdas*, *Matthas*, *Jaribolus*, &c. being all pure *Syriack*; and had the Curioſity of our *Engliſh* Travellers directed them to have tranſcribed

tranſcribed the *Syriack* Inſcriptions, as well as the *Greek*, at *Tadmur*; I doubt not, but as we might from them have retrieved the old *Syriack* Alphabet, ſo we alſo might have been enabled to correct more than one Miſtake either of the Graver, or Tranſcriber (as I ſhall unqueſtionably demonſtrate there are ſuch) in the Names of the People of that famous City. This Method, I doubt not, the *Palmyrenians* made uſe of, that their publick Monuments, as long as they continued, might preſerve the knowledge of their ancient Native Language; and I hope ſome attempt will be made to recover at leaſt the underſtanding of their Letters: For Monſieur *Petit*'s Specimen, in *Spon*'s *Miſcellanies*, is all Dream; and that Learned Man, if he had been in Earneſt, would doubtleſs have given us his Alphabet, and the Inſcriptions accordingly reduc'd into the *Hebrew*, or ſome other known Character. 'Tis true, he ſays they are the *Phœnician* (probably the ſame with the old *Syriack*) Letters, (for *Gruter*'s Opinion, that they are *Arabick*, is not to be defended,) but I refer the Reader to *Antony Gallandius*'s Confutation of Mr. *Petit*, in the ſame *Miſcellanies*.

After

After the *Romans* had extended their Empire into the remoter Parts of *Syria*; the Men of *Palmyra*, agreeable to the Practice of the other Nations of the *Eaſt*, aſſumed to themſelves a Præ-Nomen, the Cuſtom of having Two Names having been taken up by the *Greeks* and *Syrians* about the Times of *Trajan*; and this ſeems to be confirm'd by the Sepulchral Inſcriptions at *Tadmur*, the moſt ancient of which were erected under *Trajan*, where the Names of *Elabelus*, *Mannæus*, *Soræchus*, *Malchus*, *Vaballathus*, *Gichus*, *Mocimus*, ſtand alone, without any Præ-nomina; but in the Inſcriptions of After-times, *Septimius*, *Rupilius*, *Julius Aurelius*, frequently occur, which being *Roman*, were prefix'd to their *Syriack* Names, (as ſome of them had two *Syriack* Names, the laſt having probably been givent to thoſe who were adopted into other Families, as *Phanius Mocimus, qui & Airanes*, *Julius Aurelius Zenobius qui & Zabdilas*—) the Fore-Name *Septimius* was in very frequent uſe at *Tadmur*, probably in Honour of *Septimius Severus* the Emperor, their Benefactor: The Firſt of their Emperors was *Septimius Odenathus*; their only N. 3, 4.

only Empreſs, *Septimia Zenobia*; their Great Men, *Septimius Orodes*, and *Septimius Airanes*. Now, the Præ-Nomen being either *Greek* or *Roman*, the ſecond the proper *Syriack* Name of the Perſon, was poſt-pon'd to that, which was aſſum'd, *ex. gr. Septimius Zenobius*, *Longinus Caſſimus*, *Julius Aurelius Zenobius*, *Alexander Capadetus*, *Julius Aurelius Ealmes* (if it ſhould not rather be read *Palmes*, for he is ſaid to be a *Roman*, and a Gentleman of one of their Troops: Now, *Palma* is a known Name among the *Romans*; *Palma*, the Conſul and the Lieutenant-General to *Trajan*, in his *Parthian* Expedition, is very famous, who being of a contrary Faction to *Adrian*, was ſlain at *Terracina*, by the Order of the Senate.) And for this reaſon, I cannot agree with the Learned Mr. *Halley*, correcting the Coins of *Vaballathus*, and reading *Airanes* for *Hermeias*; for it's plain, that in thoſe Names the firſt is *Greek*, or *Latin*, the latter *Syriack*; which alſo confirms me in my Opinion, that *Vaballathus* was the Son of *Herodes* (or *Herodianus*) and that the Father's Name was *Athenas Herodes*; of which more hereafter.

Spart. Hadr. p. 2, 4.

It is alſo obſervable, that the *Palmyrenians*,

renians, like their Neighbours the *Arabs*, with their own Names gave their Pedigree, reckoning up their Anceſtors, many times, to their Great-Grand-Father: This the *Saracenic* Hiſtory puts out of all diſpute as to the *Arabs*; and the *Inſcriptions*, as to the Inhabitants of *Tadmur*.

Now to ſhew that the Names are of *Syriack* or *Hebrew* Extraction, as the præ-Nomina of *Greek* or *Latin*, is an eaſie Undertaking. *Jaribolus*, or *Jariboleus*, is *Jerubbaal* (*Gideon*'s Name;) *Bareiches* is *Barachias*, *Baruchus*, or *Barachus*, (of which Name were *Baruch* the Prophet *Jeremy*'s Scribe; and a Biſhop, Βάρεαχος Ἐπίσκοπος Βαχαδῶν, and *Borochus* the Judge in *Jamblichus*) *Ouorodes* is *Orodes*, and *Herod*; *Soræchus*, *Saruch*, *Nahar*'s Father, Gen. 11. and in *Jamblicus*'s * *Babylonicks*, *Soræchus*, the Son of *Soræchus* the Publican, makes a conſiderable Figure; *Simon* is purely *Hebrew*; *Vaballathus* is *Balathus* with the *Arabick Præfix*; *Bal*, *Belus*, *Bolathus*, and *Balathus*, the ſame Name in *Damaſcius*; *Ballatha* is the Name of a *Syrian* City, in *Ptolemy*; and *Sanballat* (*i. e.* the Prince *Balathus*) appears, in Holy Writ, the Governor

Tom. 2. Mon. Græc. p. 346.

* *Apud. Phot. Cod. 94.*

vernor of *Meſopotamia*, ἔπαρχος πέρας τοῦ ποταμοῦ, *Nehem.* 2. 9. and *Vabal-lathus*, in *Vopiſcus*, is called *Balbatus*, for *Ballathus*. *Bolanus* was one of the Biſhops, who, in the Synod of *Antioch*, condemn'd *Paulus* of *Samoſata*. *Mat-thas* among the Men, and *Martha* among the Women, are alſo *Hebrew*; *Matthas*, *Matthat*, *Matthan*, *Matta-thas*; *Airanes*, *Aarones*; *Jaraius*, *Jair*; *Elabelus* is *Elbelus*, or the God *Bel*—ſometimes *Alagbelus*, *Alagabalus*, corruptly *Heliogabalus*. *Mannæus* is the ſame Name with *Manoah*, or, as the LXX. Μανωέ, or *Manahath*, 1 Chron. 1. 40. *Zenobius* was a common Name among the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians*. * *Euſebius* mentions two Martyrs of that Name, who ſuffer'd in the *Dio-cleſian* Perſecution, the one an admirable Phyſician, the other a Presbyter of the Church of *Sidon*. Againſt *Zenobius* of *Emeſa*, *Ephremius* the Patriarch of *Antioch* wrote a Learned Treatiſe. And *Zenobius* a Biſhop of *Cilicia* was Martyr'd in the ſame Perſecution, with his Wife, and his Siſter *Zenobia*, ſays *Simeon Metaphraſtes*; and the Wife of *Baſiliſcus* the Emperor was alſo call'd *Zenobia*. *Malech*, *Malchus*, and

Euſeb. l. 7. c. 30.

Judg. 13. 2.

**L. 8. c. 13.*

Phot. cod. 228.

and *Malchion* (of which Name was an Eminent * Presbyter of *Antioch*, who oppos'd *Paulus* of *Samosata* the Heretical Patriarch of that See) are from the same Original; as is *Malechus Podosaces*, who was the Prince (or *Phylarchus*) of the *Arabians*, in the times of the Emperor *Julian*; and *Melham*, the Name of the late Prince of *Tadmur*, who treated the *English* Merchants with so much Injustice. *Zebeidas*, *Zabdas*, and *Zabdilas*, are the same; of which Name were *Zabdas* Bishop of *Jerusalem* after *Hymenæus*, and *Zabdi* (*Josh.* 7. 3.) while the ignorant Transcribers of the Historian *Vopiscus* have turn'd *Zenobia's* General *Zabdas* into a Woman, (*Vopisc. p.* 217. *contra Zenobiam, & Zabam ejus Sociam.*) *Samsus*, *Samson*, Σαμψὼν in the *LXX.* are of the same Original; and from thence is *Sampsa* (or Σαμψαὶ ἡ γραμματεὺς) *Esdr.* 4. 8. and *Samsaiceramus* one of the Princes of *Syria* under *Pompey*, another of that Name, being the Priest of *Venus* under *Gallienus*; and *Sampsa* a City in *Arabia*, says *Stephanus*, Σάμψα πόλις τῆς Ἀραβίας. And *Epiphan. Hær.* 53. Σαμψαῖοι ἡλιακοί. And

* Id. l. 7. c. 29.

Am. Marcel. l. 24.

in the same *Stephanus*, Βαίσαμψα-- ἄκος ἡλίου.

Odænathus is also of a *Syrian* Family; of which Name was a Philosopher, the Scholar of the Junior *Plutarch*, says *Suidas* out of *Damascius* (Ὀδαίναθος ἀπὸ Συρίας) who ought to be remembred, if only for that one excellent Sentence of his, *That it is very difficult, and next to impossible, for Men either to think or speak of God, as He is.* *John Malela* always calls the Emperor *Enathus*; and he, being of *Antioch*, may have been presumed to have understood the Language, Names and Manners of his own Country, *Syria*. And *Eusebius*, among the Martyrs of *Palestine*, who suffer'd in the *Dioclesian* Persecution, reckons *Ennathas* a Woman of *Scythopolis*. And I have been enclined to believe, that *Enathus* and *Ignatius* were the same Name (*Ignatius* only better turn'd to please the Ear of the *Greeks* and *Romans*,) and that, in Honour of *Odænathus*, *Gallienus* assum'd the Name, who, in two rare Coins in Monsieur * *Patin*, and as rare an Inscription in † *Fulvius Ursinus*, is styled *Publius Licinius Ignatius Gallienus*; or as F. *Harduin*,

Vid. Ὀδαίναθος.

De Martyrib. Palæst. p. 333.

*Pag. 413.

† *In H. A. Script. p. 509.*

duin, *p.* 330. from another Coin, *Egnatius*.

As to the Name *Mocimus*, I have been under ſuſpence, whether I ſhould correct the Books from the Monuments, or believe that the Tranſcriber of the Inſcriptions might miſtake a K for an N, which letters are not of a very different make, and turn and read *Monimus* for *Mocimus*. * *Jamblichus*, who was born at *Chalcis*, not far from *Edeſſa*, ſays, that *Monimus* was the *Mercury* of the People of *Edeſſa*: And † *Damaſcius*, in the Life of *Iſidore* the Philoſopher, ſays that *Jamblichus* derived himſelf from *Monimus* and *Sampſaiceramus*, the Roytelets of *Syria*; and the Criticks have corrected *Stephanus*, περὶ πόλεων. reading Μόνιμος for Μόνιμος. But ſince the Name occurs ſo often in the Inſcriptions at *Palmyra*, and is always written Μόκιμος, I am enclined to think that that was the right reading, and ought not to be alter'd, and that from thence *Jamblichus* and others are to be corrected.

* *Apud Julian. Orat.* IV. *p.* 281.

† *Apud Phot. Cod.* ρπα'.

V. Χάλκις.

Nor is it to be omitted, that the *Palmyrenians*, as well as other Nations, gave the Names of their Gods to their Princes,

and Illuſtrious Perſons, as appears by the frequent uſe of *Jaribolus*, *Mocimus*, *Vaballathus*, *Elabelus*, *and Sampſaiceramus*, among them; as of *Adonijah*, and *Elijah*, &c. among the *Jews*; of *Belſhazzar*, and *Nebuchadnezzar*, among the *Babylonians*; of *Mithrobarzanes*, and *Mithradates*, among the *Perſians*; of *Taautus*, *Serapion*, *Heracles*, *Heraclammon*, *Ammonius*, *Iſidorus*, *Pſammatoſiris*, *Orus*, *Orion*, &c. among the *Ægyptians*; of *Cronius*, *Poſidonius*, *Hepheſtion*, *Dionyſius*, *Apollos*, among the *Greeks*; of *Ithobalus*, and *Abibalus*, among the *Tyrians*; of *Annibal*, *Aſdrubal*, and *Maherbal*, among the *Carthaginians*; of *Saturninus*, *Jovianus*, *Martius*, *Mercurialis*, and *Venerius*, among the *Romans*. And in like manner the Cuſtom prevailed over the Northern, and other Nations, as might eaſily be proved.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.
Of their Publick Offices.

FRom the *Names* of the *Inhabitants*, I proceed to conſider the ſeveral *Officers* that managed the Affairs of the Commonwealth; for the Senate, in whoſe hands the Government was, and to whom was the *Dernier* Reſort, conſtituted ſeveral Officers for the due Adminiſtration of the Duties of Religion and Juſtice.

Ἀγορανόμοι.

And becauſe the Eaſtern Nations were much addicted to Idleneſs, and great Lovers of Diverſion (few of the *Turks*, *Arabs* or *Perſians* of the preſent Age being enclinable to hard labour, moſt of their time being ſpent in ſmoaking Tabacco, and drinking Coffee,) inſomuch that they too often prefer'd their voluptuous Satisfactions (for they ſpent thirty Nights together in continued Revellings) to their Safety; (for when *Sapores*, after he had made *Valerian* his Priſoner, ſackt the City of *Antioch*, they were ſo intent and buſied *Malel. l. 12. p. 313.*

Ammian. l.3. c.5. in ſeeing the Actors of a Farce, that till one of their Mimicks, turning him round, told them with aſtoniſhment, that the Swords of the *Perſians* were at their Throats, they ſaw nothing of their Danger: And when the Emperor *Aurelian* return'd the ſecond time to *Palmyra*, he ſurpriz'd the ſame *Antiochians*, ſo intent upon the ſight of their Horſe-Races, that when they thought him in *Thrace*, he was in their Market-place.) I will firſt treat of their Ἀγορανόμος, or *Ædilis*, the Rich and Eminent Perſon, who furniſh'd the Money for their Publick Spectacles, and was at the Charge of the Plays, though they had great Bequeſts often made to this purpoſe, and ſometimes the Expence was defray'd out of the Publick Treaſury; (for that they had ſuch an Officer at *Tadmur*, the *Inſcriptions* put out of all diſpute.) Their Original Office, it is true, was like that of our (*a*) Clerks of the Market (if not at firſt deputed to inſpect the Temples, and their Revenues, and

Zoſim. lib. up. 55.

Vid. *Malel. l. 9. p. 290. L. 12. p. 272, 273.*

(*a*) *Harpocrat.* Αγορανόμοι, οἱ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀγορὰν ἄνια διοικοῦντες ἄρχοντες. So the Etymolog. *M. Heſyc.* Ἀγορανόμος ὁ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ νόμων τὸ δίκαιον. *Gloſſar. vet. Ædilis*, Ἀγορανόμος. Ἀγορανομία, *Ædilitas*, Ἀγορανόμος, *Ædilicius*, *Ædilis*. *Ariemid.* ὀνειρ. *l.* 2. *c.* 13. διὰ τὸ τροφῆς τὴν ἀγορανόμον προνοεῖσθαι. And *Dio*, in his Hiſtory, always uſes Ἀγορανόμος for *Ædilis*.

to

to file the Records,) where they enquired into whatever was bought or ſold, and regulated the Prices; and their number at *Athens* (ſays *Ariſtotle*, in his Book of that Commonwealth, cited by *Harpocration*) was Twenty, Five in the *Pireæus*, and Fifteen in the City. But that which made them moſt acceptable to the Common People, was their Secundary Employment, to entertain the Citizens with whatever might contribute to their Diverſion, upon their own Pocket; and perhaps it often happen'd, that the ſame Perſons who furniſh'd the Expence, was the Preſident, and Judge of the Games (both the Ἀγορανόμος and Ἀγωνοθέτης,) who, if the whole Province met (the Κοινὸν τῆς Παλμυρήνης) was from the Name of the Country call'd the Παλμυρηνάρχης, as there were Ἀσιάρχαι, Λυκιάρχαι, Γαλατάρχαι, &c. And therefore *Ruffinus*, in his Verſion of the Martyrdom of St. *Polycarp*, renders Ἀσιάρχης, in *Euſebius*'s Greek by *Munerarius*, the Perſon who managed the Expence of the *Spectacula*, very properly.

Ludos facere Ædilem Cic. l. 1. de Orat. argentum ad ludos commodare. l. 28. D. de auro, argento, &c. ædiles plebis ludorum maximè gratiâ creatos. Vid. *Gronov. Obſerv. l. 4. c. 21.*

This Generosity made so deep and lasting an Impression upon the Populace, who are generally led by Appearances, and satisfy'd with Show, that they often erected Monuments to the Memory of their Benefactors, for this very reason. So the City of *Tænarium* (in the Gulf of *Sparta*) celebrated the Glory of *Tiberius Claudius Charito*, in this noble Inscription :

Reinesii Inscript. class. 6. n. cxxi.

Ἡ πόλις ἡ Ταιναρίων Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον * Χάρτωνα τὸν ἄριστον πολείτην σωφροσύνης τε καὶ περὶ τὴν ἀγορανομίαν ἀνυπερβλήτου φιλοτιμίας ἕνεκεν ψν. β. *Hoc est.* ψηφήσματι βουλῆς. *Subaudi* ἐτίμησεν.

* *f.* Χαρίτωνα.

" The City of the *Tænarians* have " honoured *Tiberius Claudius Charito*, " their most excellent Citizen, for his " great Prudence, and his unspeakable " Magnificence, when he was the *Ædile* " (or Ἀγορανόμος) of their City. This " Monument was erected by the Order " and Decree of the Senate.

Vid. Gronovii memor. Cosson. p. 145.

In like manner *Claudius Paulinus* was rewarded by the Senate and People of *Smyrna* (for I conjecture that the Marble found in that City belongs to it) with

with a noble Monument erected to the Memory of his Daughter; because he he had been the *General of their Horse, one of the chief of their Council, their Ædilis, and Questor, and President of their Senate* (*a*) (which last was the highest Civil Honour he could attain to; for even at *Rome* the Consul presided in the Senate, when the Emperor was present, if the Emperor himself was not Consul.) Thus the City of *Antioch* erected a Marble Statue in *Daphne* to *Artabanus*, one of their Citizens, who was the first *Syriarcha* who presided over the *Olympick Games* celebrated in that City in the Reign of the Emperor *Commodus*, with this Inscription, *To the eternal memory of Artaban.*

Plin. Panegyric.

Malel. par. 1. lib. 12. p. 381.

And thus the Senate and People of *Palmyra*, among the other Atchievements of *Jullus Aurelius Zenobius*, and of *Septimius Orodes*, celebrated them, that they had magnificently and splen-

(*a*) *Hesychius* gives another sence of Ἵππαρχος. Ὁ τῶν νέων ἐπιμελητὴς παρὰ Λάκωσι. — Id. Ἱππάρχου πίναξ, vel Ἱππάρχαι ἐν πίναξι, τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ἀτακτούντων γράφοντες παρεσημειοῦντο. —— Id. Πρυτανις, Βασιλεὺς, Ἄρχων. V. *Not. in par.* 1. *marm. Oxon. p.* 106.

didly

didly diſcharged this Office; particularly *Zenobius*, that he managed that Province, when he undertook it, with an extraordinary Liberality. For they diſtinguiſht between what was done at the expence of the Publick, and came out of the Treaſury, and what was expended by the Officer out of his own Coffers; and themſelves took care, if the Commonwealth did not, to record this Circumſtance; ſo *Bolanus* is ſaid to have built an Altar, ἐξ ἰδίων, at his own charge; and *Agathangelus*, to have erected a Canopy, and a Bed of State, ἐξ ἰδίων: And ſo *Septimius* is ſaid to have ſupplied the Company (or Caravans of Travellers) ἐξ ἰδίων. And *Mareades*, who had been one of the Magiſtrates of *Antioch*, was, in the Reign of *Gallienus*, by the Vote of the whole Senate and People, ejected out of the Government; becauſe, whatever Party he was obliged to provide for in the Publick Horſe-Races, he not only refuſed to lay out any Money of his own, but cheated the Publick of what was deſtin'd by the City to thoſe Diverſions, (the Emperors afterwards Enacting, That whoſoever was appointed

Tranſact. *p.* 99, 103, 109.

Vid. *pag.* 105.

Malel. *par.* 1. *p.* 390.

pointed to inſpect the *Ludi Circenſes*, which was the Office of the *Duumviri*, and alienated or diverted to another uſe any part of the Revenue deſtin'd to that Service, ſhould be obliged to refund.) This Diſgrace occaſion'd his flying to *Sapores* the King of *Perſia*, in thoſe diſſolute Times, to whom he gave an Account of the unhappy State of his Native Countrey, and the Careleſneſs of the Inhabitants, which occaſion'd the ruine of that noble City, as is already mention'd, the Traytor himſelf being ſacrificed by that very Prince whom he had invited into *Syria*, to the angry *Manes* of his abuſed Country; Beheaded (ſays *Malela*,) Burnt alive (ſays * *Ammianus Marcellinus.*) And † *Xenophon*, introducing *Socrates* inſtructing *Critobulus* as to what would be expected from a Man of his Figure and Fortune at *Athens*, after he had inform'd him, that he muſt very frequently be at the charge of noble Sacrifices, and magnificent Entertainments and Feaſts, he adds, That it would be expected from him, that he would be obliged to keep Horſes for the Publick Races (Ἱπποτροφίας, Χορηγίας, καὶ Γυμνασιαρχίας,) and if he ſhould ever refuſe ſo to treat the

L. 10. *tit.* 31. §. 20.

* *Ubi ſup.*

† *Oeconomic. c.* 4.

the Citizens, they would puniſh him as ſeverely as if he had robb'd their Houſes. So paſſionately were the People of thoſe Ages and Countries addicted to the *Spectacula*, and ſo much did they think them their due.

Βουλευτής.

The Senators of *Palmyra* were Men of Eminence and Condition, and the moſt Honourable Members of the Republick, and therefore are ſtiled in the Inſcriptions (Λαμπρότατοι Συγκλητικοὶ) *Moſt Illuſtrious:* But of thoſe Senators, ſome, I conjecture, were a ſtanding Council of State, (as the Πρυτάνεις were at *Athens*, and in moſt Commonwealths, ſome ſimilar Court;) for *Rupilius Orodes* is ſaid to be both a Senator and a Counſellor (Συγκλητικὸς, καὶ Βουλευτὴς:) So that as the * Βουλευτὰ and Πρυτάνεις were diſtinguiſht at *Athens*, ſo at *Palmyra* the Συγκλητικοὶ and Βουλευταὶ had their Diſtinctions. For as the *Romans* had their Senate, ſo other Cities had theirs; their Court of Aldermen, who govern'd the People (their *Duumviri* repreſenting the Conſuls.) of which Senators ſome were Eminent and Principal for Authority and

* V. *Marm. Oxon.* n. 46.

and Influence; and ſuch, probably, were the Βελευταὶ at *Palmyra*, Men who had borne the Office of the Duumvirate, and for that reaſon were not only of the Senatorian, but Conſular Dignity, (ἐκ Συνκλητικῶν ἢ Ὑπατικῶν as it is worded in another Inſcription.) *Memor. Coſſon. Marm.* 2. *p.* 140.

The Name Βελευτὴς, it muſt be confeſt, is commonly given to every Member of that Court; ſo the old *Gloſſary*. Βελευτὴς, *Decurio, Curialis*; called *Decuriones*, becauſe whenever the Colonies, or *Municipia*, were eſtabliſht, and the Government of thoſe Cities firſt inſtituted, the *Decurio* (like our Alderman of the Ward) had his particular Province appointed, and his Number of Perſons, whom he inſpected (*Nonius Marcel. Decuriones à numero, cui præerant, dicebantur,*) but the whole Order, or aggregate Body, govern'd all the Inhabitants, and are therefore called, in the Laws, and ancient Hiſtories, *Decuriones Civitatum, Municipiorum, & Coloniarum.* Great care (ſays *Tully*) was uſed in the choice of ſuch Governors, the Names of the Candidates being, before the Election, propoſed to the People, that they might make their juſt *L. 6. Epiſt. ad Sept.*

Excep-

Exceptions, if they had any, againſt the Perſon. When any Publick Buſineſs was to be done, the Senators were ſolemnly ſummon'd to the Court; for out of their Body the *Duumviri* were choſen (who were to be nominated three Months before they entred upon their Province;) as alſo the *Ædiles*, (and in ſome Places the *Dictators* and *Prætors*,) the Court being obliged to give immediate Notice to every Officer, if abſent, whom they had elected: The Inſpection of the Treaſury was committed to them; they were entruſted with the Management and Diſpoſal of all Bequeſts, and of the Publick Money; they were to take care that the Granaries ſhould always be full, that the City might not want Bread: They impoſed and levied Taxes: In ſhort, the whole Management of the Commonwealth was in their hands.

Vid. *Not. in Cod. l.* 10. *T.* 31. *n.* 1.

It muſt be granted, that the Diſcharge of the Office was very expenſive, and they were accountable for whatever Publick Money ſhould be embezled or miſapplied, and were incumbred with a troubleſom Province; for the Senator was not to leave the City,

Vid. *B. Briſſ. l.* 4. *Select. Antiquit.*

City, to go to the Court, either upon the Publick, or his own private Affairs, without leave from the Preſident of the Province: They were prohibited the applying themſelves to a Military Employment; and if any Man ſcrupled to ſerve his Countrey, after he was choſen, the Law compell'd him for two Years together to do the Office of a *Duumvir* (unleſs the Court exempted him, or he had the conſent of the Citizens to excuſe him;) nor would flying to a Monaſtery give a Protection; a Religious Houſe was not then a Sanctuary to skreen a Man from Civil Employments. And therefore in the * Novels of the Emperor *Leo* (after whoſe Reign the word doth not occur in the Laws, nor is it to be found in the *Baſilica*) the Office of the *Ducurio* is ſtyled Βαρεῖα καὶ δυσύποιστος λειτουργία, an Employment very burthenſom and grievous, and probably, the Perſon, when choſen, was obliged to give to the Publick Treaſury a Summ of Money; it being mention'd † as a great Honour done to *Titius Chreſimus*, that for the Merits of his Father, the Senate admitted him into their Society gratuitouſly, *Ob merita Patris honorem Decurio-*

* *Nov.* 46.

† *Grut.* 475. 3.

Decurinatûs gratuitum decrevit Ordo Decurionum.

But as the Office was thus moleſted (inaſmuch as it was ſometimes inflicted as a Puniſhment for ſome Offences) ſo their Privileges were very great, and their Station very honourable; they were exempt from all extraordinary Employments, and from enduring the Torture; were not to be condemn'd to the Mines, not to be Burnt alive, thrown to the Wild Beaſts, Crucified, or Beheaded, (but if Criminal, were Impriſon'd, and Fetter'd, till the Emperor had declar'd his Pleaſure, and determin'd their Fate,) and the Honour was derived to the Family, to the Fathers and the Children of the Senators, who were by this means ennobled; the Men of Worth were capable of being choſen Members of the Court at Fifteen; and if any of them arrived to the Age of Seventy, or prov'd the Father of Twelve Children, he was excuſed from the Fatigue, while he enjoyed all the Privileges of a Senator; nor could he be compell'd to go out of the Province, unleſs in caſes of moſt urgent neceſſity. Their Body was

ſtyled

ſtyled *Ordo Decurionum*; the Roll in which their Edicts were entred, *Album Decurionum*; their Habits diſtinctive and ornamental (*Decurionalibus Veſtimentis Ornatus*;) their Houſes were ſupplyed with Water upon the Publick Charge (*ut Aquæ digitus in Domo ejus flueret, commodiſque Publicis, ac ſi decurio frueretur*;) and they were capable of the greateſt Bequeſts, above Fifteen hundred Pound having been given by *C. Toraſius*, to furniſh out the Expence of a great Supper, annually provided on the Birth-day of his Son, for the *Ducuriones* of the City, and for a Largeſs in Money to the Poor. And if any generous Perſon, when dying, left Legacies to the People, they were entruſted with the Diſpoſal, (as appears by the Inſcriptions *D. F. D. I. P.* h. e. *Decurionum fide dividenda in publicum.*) And if the Emperor reſolved to expreſs his Indignation againſt any People, he denied them the Privilege of being ruled by a Senate of their own Inhabitants, and left their Lives and Fortunes to the Diſcretion and Integrity of their Governor, who was a Foreigner. So *Auguſtus* puniſh'd the proud City of *Alexandria*;

Grut. p. 372. 7.

Id. 475. 3.

Grut. p. 279. 3.

Dio. l. 51. *p.* 451.

andria; for when he had conquer'd *Egypt*, he conſtituted *Cornelius Gallus* their Governor, but would not permit any Citizen a ſhare in Publick Affairs, while he allowed other Cities their Privileges, (τοῖς Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι ἄνευ βουλευτῶν πολιτεύεσθαι ἐκέλευσε,) and in this ſtate they continued till *Septimius Severus* gave them (the *Jus bulentarum*) the liberty to be govern'd by their own Citizens; and his Son *Antoninus* put them into the capacity of being choſen Senators at *Rome*, which, I conjecture, was one of the Privileges of the *Decuriones* in the Colonies.

Spartian. Severus, p. 70.

That this Title was very Honourable in the Colony of *Palmyra*, appears from *Sextus Rufus*, who calls *Odenathus*, before he aſſum'd the Purple, by the Name of *Decurio Palmyrenus*, which *Trebellius Pollio* explains by *Princeps Civitatis*; for the Senators were the principal Men of the Cities where they reſided.

Ἐπίτροπος Δεκεμβρίου.

In Imitation of the *Roman* Methods of Government, the *Palmyrenians* had alſo

alſo their *Procuratores Ducenarii*; of which Order was *Septimius Orodes*, under *Odenathus*; and *Paulus* of *Samoſata*, the Patriarch of *Antioch*, under *Zenobia*. The Original of the Office is to be deduced from the Times of *Auguſtus*, who, for the better and more regular government of his Subjects to the three Courts of Judicature, which had been formerly erected, added a fourth, ſtyled *Decuria Ducenariorum* of an inferior Order, the Judges whereof, at their firſt Inſtitution, were appointed to determine Cauſes of leſs moment, but were in proceſs of time advanced to a nobler Juriſdiction; they were commonly Men of Quality, of the *Equeſtrian* Dignity, though ſometimes *Liberti*, (but in thoſe days the Emperors Freed-Men made no contemptible Figure in the Commonwealth,) the Cuſtom, before the Reign of *Auguſtus*, was, that every Officer furniſht the Expence of his Employment without any Charge to the Publick; but that wiſe and munificent Prince conſidering the Temptations ſuch Officers, who were no way provided for out of the Exchequer, were expoſed to, appointed every one his Salary: And

Sneton. Auguſt. n. 32.

Dio. l. 53. *p.* 506.

from hence the *Ducenarii* had their Name, and not from their collecting the Tribute of the Provinces, and the Summs which they exacted (the *Ducentesima*) though that was a part of their Business, as of the Proconsul, where he presided, but from the Pension, which by the Imperial Constitution was to be paid them (which *Capitolinus* calls *Ducenum H. S. stipendium*, as the Law mentions the *Procuratores Centenarii* and *Sexagenarii* for the same reason.) For this *Dio* avers expresly, whatever some learned Men affirm to the contrary, — Τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους (οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς τάς τε κοινὰς προσόδους ἐκλέγοντας, καὶ προστεταγμένα σφίσιν ἀναλίσκοντας ὀνομάζομεν) — καὶ τοῖς γε ἐπιτρόποις, καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀξιώματος ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριθμοῦ τῶν διδομένων αὐτοῖς χρημάτων προσγίγνεται· the Salary being proportion'd to the Quality of the Person and his Employment; the Summ being limited as well as the Office: For the Procurator was not permitted to levy Soldiers, nor to raise larger Taxes upon the Provincials, than were appointed by the Emperor, or Senate; he was obligede to resign, whenever required; and

Ubi sup.

and not to lingerin the Province after his time was expir'd, but to return to *Rome* in three Months.

In a few Years their Authority was enlarged, became great and illuſtrious; *Claudius* obliged the Senate to enact it, That whatever was determin'd by the Emperor's Procurator, ſhould be lookt on as valid, as if himſelf had decided the Controverſie in Perſon. And when the Senate had Paſt it as an Act, it was reckon'd among the Laws of the Empire. The Office was ſeldom beſtow'd on a private Perſon, unleſs of extraordinary Merit, but upon a Man of Eminence, and a Favourite of the Emperor's: He was impowered to inſpect all Publick Affairs; but the proper Buſineſs of the Procurator, was to over-ſee the Publick Revenue; his Office in the Province entitling him to the ſame Charge that the *Præfecti Ærarii* (the Lords of the Treaſury) had at *Rome*; and it was a ſtep to the Senatorian Dignity, as that was many times to the Imperial; for *Pertinax* was the *Procurator Ducenarius* in *Dacia*, before he aſſum'd the Purple. Their Title was Κοάτιςος, as appears by the Inſcrip-

Tacit. Annal. 12.

L. 1. *D. de Offic. Proc. Cæſ.*

Id. Vit. Agric.

Capitolin. Pertinax. P. 54.

tion, and by Holy Writ, (for *Feſtus* is, *Act.* 26. 25. call'd Κράτιστε Φῆστε.) They had their Guards to protect them (Δορυφορέμενοι) ſays * *Euſebius*, their Retinue was great, and their Attendance numerous; ſometimes they repreſented the Preſidents of the Provinces (*Procurator Cæſaris Vice Præſidis Provinciæ fungetur*, ſays the Law; and the old Inſcriptions † *Procur. Auguſt. & Proleg. Provinciæ Rhetiæ, & Vindelic.*) At other times both Offices were united; for ‖ *P. Vibius* was both *Procurator* and *Præſes* of *Sardinia*: And whenever the Preſident reſided in the Province, the Procurator was his Aſſeſſor in the Courts of Judicature, and had an equal Vote in the Determination of ſuch Cauſes as were brought before them. This Power of making inſpection into all Matters, often encouraged them to be very troubleſom, (inſomuch that the Emperor *Conſtantine the Great* thought fit to reſtrain their Power, and regulate their Exactions;) and they were of old more particularly guilty of moleſting the Primitive Chriſtians, whom they perſecuted with extreme Severity, compelling the weaker ſort

* *E. H.* 7. 30.

† *Grut.* p. 376.

‖ Id. p. 487. 6.

ſort to Blaſpheme, or Compound, while they cauſed the reſolute Confeſſors to be tortured to Death. This the *Novatian* Commentary in * *Eulogius* demonſtrates, that in the Perſecution begun by *Decius* and *Valerian*, *Perennius* the *Ducenarius*, by Order of the Emperors, purſued the Chriſtians at *Rome*, and in the neighbouring Countries, with the greateſt ſeverity, murdering ſome, and compelling others to commit Idolatry. About which time, St. *Cyprian* informs us, that *Martialis* and *Baſilides*, two Spaniſh Biſhops, had appear'd before the Procurator *Ducenarius*, and had taken out Libels of Security from him; that they had ſacrificed to Idols. And that which ſupported *Paulus* of *Samoſata*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, againſt the Catholick Church, which had in a Synod ſolemnly condemn'd him, was, his Authority of Procurator to *Zenobia* his Patroneſs; upon which he valued himſelf, for it ſupported his Pride and Grandeur, and therefore choſe rather to be called by the Name of *Ducenarius*, than *Biſhop*, (and accordingly he kept up the ſtate of a Civil Officer, and Miniſter of Juſtice,

* *Apud. Phot. Cod.* 182. *pag.* 214.

Ep. 170. *Edit. Oxon.*

Euſeb. 7. 30.

had his Tribunal, and a Sublime Throne, together with his *Secretum*, (*Secretarium*, or *Auditorium*) Court of Judicatory, in the innermoſt part of the *Prætorium*, ſeparated from the reſt of the Hall by Rails and Curtains, that being the Place where the Chief Magiſtrate uſed to ſit, when he took cognizance of Criminal Cauſes.) And in an old Inſcription, *Q. Ælius Januarius* is ſaid to have been the Procurator of *Oſroene*, and *Syria Cæle*.

Grut. 346. 1.

But this was not the ſole ſignification of the word *Ducenarius*; for by it ſometimes was meant, one who commanded Two Hundred Men (ſo ſays *Vegetius*) as the *Centenarius* did One Hundred. And thus * St. *Jerom* muſters the Officers of a Regiment, *Poſt Tribunum Primicerius, deinde Senator, Ducenarius, Biarchus, Circitor, Eques.* So the old *Gloſſary*, *Ducenarius* Διακοσιάρχης. *Dux Ducenarius*, in † *Goltzius*. *Vir Ducenarius*, as *Salmaſius* reads the old Inſcription in ‖ *Gruter*. *Tribunus Militaris Legionis Tertiæ Italicæ*; not *Ducenarius Tribuni*, as *Scaliger* ſays in the excellent *Index* to that laborious and uſeful Work; though perhaps the imperfect

L. 2. *c.* 8.

* *Ad Pammach.*

† *Theſ. p.* 102.

‖ *P.* 457. 8.

perfect words of the Inſcription may be ſupplied, and read *Procurator Ducenarius*, *Tribunus*, &c. They are called *Protectores Ducenarii* in another Inſcription; the Σωματοφύλακες, Commanders of Two Companies of the Life-guards, who of old, as among us, were treated with the Title of *Colonels*, and accordingly reſpected and paid: The difference of Title between theſe Military *Ducenarii* and the *Procurators* conſiſting in this, that the Office of the former was ſtyled *Dignitas Ducentena*, of the later *Dignitas Ducenaria*. Grut. p. 531. 2.

Γραμματεύς.

Among other Officers of Note and Figure at *Palmyra*, the Γραμματεὺς, or *Secretary* of the Senate and People, was very eminent; and among others who had been choſen to that Honour, *Malech Agrippa* is remarkable in the Inſcriptions, who a ſecond time managed that Office, when *Alexander* the Emperor came into *Syria*.

The Secretaries or Scribes at *Rome* were very numerous, being divided into their

Tacit. Annal. l. 13. their ſeveral Claſſes or *Decuriæ*, their Office obliging them to attend upon the reſpective Magiſtrate, to whom they did belong, whether he were the *Prætor*, *Ædile*, *Quæſtor*, *General of the Fleet*, or the *High Prieſt* (or the *Wardens of the Port* at *Athens*,) for every one of theſe had his *Scriba*; the Employment was very honourable, (for the Secretary was very little inferior to the Chief Magiſtrate, either in Dignity or Authority, being often of the Firſt Rank of the Nobility,) ſo ſays *Tully*, *Orat.* 8. *in Verr.* *Scribarum Ordo eſt honeſtus —— quod eorum hominum fidei tabulæ publicæ, periculaque Magiſtratuum commitantur.* He was Elected into the Office, ſays *Vide infr.* *Julius Pollux.* And *Ariſtotle*, in his Account of the Commonwealth of *Athens*, affirms, that he was the Keeper of the Publick Records (and *Tully* ſays the ſame) enroll'd all the Decrees of the Senate, and was an Aſſeſſor in the Courts of Judicature. And therefore *Suidas* is miſtaken, when he avers, that they had no other Employment, than to Write, and Read, or Publiſh the Orders of the Senate: There were Three *Jul. Pol. l.* 8. *c.* 8, 9, 11. Γραμματεῖς at *Athens*, of whom the

First

Firſt kept all the Publick Writings, the Letters and Decrees of the City, and he was choſen out of the Πρυτανεῖς by the Council: To the Second, the keeping of all the Laws was entruſted, and he alſo was nominated by the Council: But the Third was the Secratary of the People, choſen by the Commons, and he it was who read all the Writings of the People, ſays the Scholiaſt of *Thucydides*, or rather read all the Publick Orders both to the Senate and People: His Method of Proceeding is thus ſtated by *Ammonius*. Ὁ μὲν γραμματεὺς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν γεγραμμένων ψηφισμάτων ἀναγινώσκων τῷ δήμῳ τότε ὄνομα ἔλεγε τοῦ γεγραφότος, καὶ τὸν πατέρα, καὶ τὸ φῦλον, καὶ τὸν δῆμον, οἷς Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους Παιανιεὺς ψήφισμα εἰσφέρει τοιόνδε· τὸ μέντοι δεύτερον, ἢ καὶ τρίτον, εἰ ὅτως ἔτυχεν ἐμφανίζων καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. The *Grammateus* having ſeveral Orders of Council in his Hand, which he was to publiſh to the People; he began with the firſt, and read the Name of the Perſon who propoſed the Decree, his Father's Name, and the Name of the Tribe or People to which he belong'd, and then publiſht the Decree it ſelf; after which, he

In Περὶ Ἑρμην.

he proceeded to the ſecond, and third, till he had publiſht them all.

The Name of the Secretary was always inſerted into every Decree, together with the Ἐπίστατης, or *Preſident* of of the Senate for the time being, or the *Prætor*. Thus the Inſcription at *Agrigentum* (*Gergento*) in *Sicily*, Ἐπὶ Ἱεροθύτα Νυμφοδώρου τοῦ Φίλωνος — προαγορεύοντος Διοκλέος τοῦ Διοκλέος, γραμματεύοντος Ἀδρανίωνος Ἀλεξάνδρου. And very often his Name had the precedence in the Decree, as appears by ſeveral Inſtances; *Ἔδοξε τῇ βούλῃ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ — Κλεογένης ἐγραμμάτευε, Βόνθος ἐπεστάτει. †Ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ — Φάνιππος ἐγραμμάτευε. Νικιάδης ἐπεστάτει. And in the Coins, the Name of the Γραμματεὺς, as of a publick eminent Officer, from whoſe Year of Government the People made their Computation, is frequently inſerted, particularly in thoſe of the Cities of *Caria*, where, I ſuppoſe, the Γραμματεὺς was the Chief Magiſtrate. One of the Coins of *Mylaſa* is ſaid to be ſtampt Γραμματεύοντος Ὑβρέου, (and *Hybreas* the Orator govern'd the City, ſays ‖ *Strabo*.) So the Coin of the *Magneſians*, upon

Grut. 401.

* *Andocyd. de Myſter.*

† *Thucyd. l. 3. v. V. Cl. Not. in Marm. Ox. 46.*

‖ *Lib. 14. p. 659.*

upon the *Mæander*, in the Reign of *Maximinus*, was ſtampt ὑπὸ γραμμα. Μαρκιανῶ. And another of the *Epheſians*, Γραμματέως Ἀσίας, *when* Ariſton *was their Secretary.* And ſo Honourable was the Office, and ſo Great the Act. 19. Authority at *Epheſus*, that when the whole City was in an Uproar, and all the People of *Aſia* fermented into a violent Tumult, (for it is highly probable, that the Inſult was made upon St. *Paul*, when the Κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας, the *Community of Aſia*, were met to celebrate their Publick Games,) he, by his ſingle Authority and Command, diſmiſt and diſperſt the riotous Aſſembly.

And I conjecture, that it was one reaſon why the ſame Perſon was not long continued in this Office, to prevent any miſchievous Innovations which might be made in the Republick by an Officer who had ſo great a Truſt, and had it in his Power to make himſelf very Popular. For it was a Law at *Athens*, That *no Man ſhould be twice* Γραμματεὺς, *under the ſame Magiſtracy*: Though the ſame Perſon might be choſen a ſecond time, under new Magiſtrates, as appears by the *Palmyrene* Inſcrip- V. *Petit. de legib. Attic.*

Inſcription; for though ſome Places of Truſt were, by ſpecial Favour, and upon great Merit, given for Life, ſome of their High Prieſts being conſtituted διὰ βίου· yet, though *Sigonius* affirms the contrary, even the High Prieſthood it ſelf was limited, and probably Annual in many Places. So * *Papirius Alexander* is ſaid to be High Prieſt the ſecond time (though in the ſame Inſcription he is called the Prieſt of *Bacchus* for his Life.) And in a Coin of the *Magneſians*, near *Sipylus*, *Apphianus* is ſaid to be *Prætor* and High Prieſt the ſecond time. So ſeveral Cities were conſtituted Νεωποροι, the ſecond and third time. And *T. Fl. Tæanus* (*Gruter* calls him *Ælianus*) is ſaid to have been the thirteenth time, ἀγωνοθέτης, in the Κοινὸν τῆς Γαλατίας. And *Cleogenes*, in the Decree of the Senate and People of *Athens*, is ſaid to have been the firſt time Secretary (πρῶτον ἐγραμματέυσεν,) as *Malech Agrippa* manag'd that Province a ſecond time at *Palmyra*. Nor was the Γραμματεὺς always a Civil Officer, or Miniſter of State, but ſometimes an Eccleſiaſtick, and Miniſter of Religion; for the High Prieſt had always

* *Grut.* 448. 1.

Petit. ubi ſup. p. 232.

ways his Secretary; to which Office no Man was at firſt admitted, but he who was of the *Patrician* Dignity. Thus *Cl. Paulinus*, in a curious Inſcription lately brought from the *Levant*, is ſtyled the *General of the Horſe*, the *Prutanis*, *Ædilis*, *Quæſtor*, *Preſident of the Senate*, *Preſident of the Gymnaſium* (or *Gymnaſiarch*,) *Maſter of the Ordnance* (or *Armory*,) the *Cuſtos Rotulorum*, and *Secretary of the Olympick Games*. Where we may obſerve, that the Γραμματοφύλαξ and Γραμματεὺς were diſtinct Offices, the one a Civil, the other a Sacred Employment: But that the firſt alſo was very Honourable; for in another Inſcription brought from the ſame Place, *T. Fl. Oneſimus Paterianus*, is ſtyled the *Maſter of the Ordnance*, the *Guardian of the Temple of the Nemeſes*, the *General of their Horſe*, the *Keeper of their Records*, the *Firſt* Πρυτανὶς (or Ἐπιστάτης,) the *Ædile*, the *Quæſtor of the City*, and *honour'd with many other great Offices*: as alſo, that he was choſen by Vote; that he was to take into his Cuſtody the Tables wherein the Laws were written; that he was obliged to preſerve the Originals

V. *Gronov. Memor. Coſſon.* p. 146. *Marm.* 22.

Marm. Ox. 116.

Grut. p. 219.

nals of all the Leagues, and to keep in a ſtrong Box all the Books belonging to his Office, and the Publick Affairs; and when he ſhall be required by the Community, he ſhall bring them into the Senate-Houſe; and whenever the Society ſhall chuſe another (Γραμματοφύλαξ) *Cuſtos Rotulorum*, he ſhall deliver up his Truſt.

But in proceſs of time, no Lay-man was permitted to be Secretary to the High Prieſt, he was always choſen out of the inferior Sacred Orders, and in the old Inſcriptions is ſtyled *Scriba, à Libris Pontificalibus*, who tranſcribed and preſerved all the Ritual, and other Books, that belong'd to the High Prieſt's Office, and many times he managed the Revenues of the Sacerdotal College, being the Treaſurer of the Temple. So

Grut. 306. 7. *Q. Ingenuus Maximianus* was *Scriba Publicus Pontif. & Curator Ærarii*, the Keeper of the Records of the Temple, (and Publick Treaties and Leagues, beſides the Deeds of private Families, were for the moſt part depoſited in Temples.) And the *Treaſurer*; ſo *Nehemiah* made *Shelemiah* the Prieſt, and *Zadock* the Scribe, and the Levite *Pedaiah*, Treaſurers

ſurers of the Temple (*Nehem.* 13. 13.) And *Ingenuus* is ſtyled *Scriba Publicus*, becauſe the High Prieſt had beſides him (as I conjecture) another private Secretary for his own Affairs. So *Livius Theona* is ſaid to be *ab Epiſtolis Græcis, Scriba, à Libris Pontificalibus.* Such Publick Scribes belonging to the High-Prieſts, were thoſe probably of whom we read in the Sacred Writings, the *Chief Prieſts* and the *Scribes* being commonly joined together, (Ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ Γραμματεῖς, *Mat.* 26. 3. *Mar.* 10. 33. a very honourable Station, for God is ſaid to *imprint Glory on the Face of the Scribe, Eccluſ.* 10. 5.) and they continued in Employment among the Jews, when the High-prieſthood ceas'd, 600 Years after our Saviour's time; for when *Gregentius* introduces the eminent Jews, who attended their Champion *Herbanus* to the Diſputation about Religion, at *Tephra*, he reckons up a multitude of *Scribes*, and *Phariſees*, and *Lawyers*, who were preſent at the Debate of the Controverſie, they being the moſt illuſtrious Perſons of the Nation; Πλῆθος τῶν Γραμματικῶν, καὶ Νομοδιδασκάλων, — οἱ μεγάλοι τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

Id. 587. 6.

Diſput. cum Herbano Jud.

Among the chief Miniſters at *Antioch* (a City with which *Palmyra* had a great Commerce) the Secretary of the Olympick Games was habited, and worſhipt as a God; for when *Commodus* the Emperor had confirm'd the Bequeſt of *Sofibius* to the People of *Antioch*, that every Fifth Year they might, for Forty five Days together, celebrate the *Olympick Games*, the next Officer to the *Alytarches* (who was the Preſident of the Aſſembly, and made Laws for the good and decent Management of thoſe Sports) was the Γραμματεὺς, who repreſented *Apollo*; he was choſen by the Senate and People, clad, all the time the Solemnity laſted, in a White Garment, his Head adorn'd with a Crown of pure Gold ſhap't like the Leaves of Lawrel, and was worſhipt as if he had been *Apollo*. This Officer, if the Olympick Games were peculiar to *Antioch* in the Eaſt, as to *Elis* in *Greece*, (ſo ſays the learned Commentator on the *Oxford* Marbles, though the above-cited Inſcription in Honour of *Paulinus* perſuades me to believe that the Games were alſo celebrated at *Smyrna*,) was alſo peculiar to that City. But the reſt

Malel. l. 12. p. 377.

of

of *Aſia* had their other Games in Honour of the Emperors (which were celebrated by the (Κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας, Γαλατίας, Βιθυνίας,) Communities of *Aſia*, *Galatia*, *Bithynia*, &c. wherein the Γραμματεὺς had a principal ſhare. This Office, perhaps, was diſcharged by *Malech Agrippa* at *Palmyra*, in the Games celebrated in Honour of *Alexander* the Emperor, when he came into that part of *Syria*, in the (Κοινον τῆς Παλμυρήνης) general Meeting of the Inhabitants of that Province.

At *Alexandria*, one Order of their Prieſts were called Ἱερογραμματεῖς, (and among them, probably, he who was of more eminent Worth and Station was ſtyled Ἀρχιγραμματεὺς. *Scribarum Primus*, as among the *Lictors*, the Ἀρχιραβδοῦχος was *Lictorum Princeps*,) of whoſe extraordinary Sobriety, Continency, and other Vertues, together with their love of Solitude and Abſtinences, *Cheræmon* the *Stoick* (who was of the ſame Order, ſay *Theodorit* and *Tzetzes*, though *Strabo* ſpeak ſlightly of him) gives a large Account. And St. *Clemens* of *Alexandria* deſcribes their Habit; * Ὁ ἱερογραμματεὺς προέρχεται ἔχων

Ap. Porph. π. ἀποχ. l. 4.

* *Strom. l. 6.*

ἔχων τὰ πτέρα ὅτι ὁ κεραλῆς, βιβλίον τε ἐν χερσὶ καὶ κανόνα ἐν ᾧ τότε γραφικὸν μέλαν, καὶ ᾧ γράφουσι, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. That the Sacred Scribe had Wings on his Head (like a *Mercury*;) that he carry'd a Book in his Hand, and a Pot, or Veſſel, (for ſo I render Κανόνα, not *Regulam*, as the Interpreter: For who carries Ink in a Rule? Ink muſt be carry'd in a Vial, or Pot. *So Heſych.* Κανὼν, Καννῶν, Κάνιστρον (*lege* Κάνιστρον) Κανίσκιον, as I would correct the learned Grammarian. *Id.* Καννῶν, Κανίσκιον, Διασκέλιον· and ſo Καννηφόρος, Ἀμφορεὺς ἢ ὑμφῶν, ἢ τὸ κανοῦν φέρουσα) in which was Ink, and a Pen, to write with: His Provence was to be acquainted with, and to know exactly the Hieroglyphicks of the *Egyptians*, to underſtand Coſmography and Geography, the Motions of the Sun and Moon, with the Influences of the Seven Planets, the Chorography of *Egypt*, the Deſcription of the River *Nilus*, the Uſe of the ſeveral Veſſels and Inſtruments employed in Holy Offices, the ſtate of all Conſecrated Places, the ſeveral kinds of Meaſures, and whatever elſe was neceſſary for the accompliſhing their Sacred Studies. For in

Egypt

Egypt the Prieſts were obliged to make themſelves Maſters of the Thirty ſix Books of *Hermes*, which contain'd their Sacred Philoſophy, treating of Religion and Nature, (the other Six Books of his Works being Medicinal,) among whom the Prophet (the Chief Prieſt, or *Præfect* of the the Temple) was bound to learn Ten for his part (called Ἱερατικὰ Βιβλία, the *Sacerdotal Books*) wherein *Hermes* treated of the Laws, and the Gods, and the whole Diſcipline of the Prieſthood; the *Chanter* (Ὠδὸς, or Ὑμνῳδὸς,) the Στολισταὶ (or Ἱεροστολισταὶ, as *Cheræmon* calls them) with the Ἱερογραμματεῖς, being obliged to learn the reſt. And *Orus Apollo* ſays, that he who would deſcribe an Ἱερογραμματεὺς in Hieroglyphick, ought to repreſent him by Ink, a Sieve, and a Reed: Of the Reed the *Egyptians* made their Pens, ſo that Ink, and a Reed, denoted his Profeſſion; the Sieve (which alſo was made of the Reed, or Bulruſh) his Condition and Quality, that he was well provided for, and had leiſure to ſtudy, thoſe who want Bread being compell'd to apply themſelves to Mechanical Trades. And the ſame Au-

L. 1. Hieroglyph.

thor informs us, they were Judges of Life and Death, not that they pronounced the Sentence of Condemnation upon Criminals, or granted Pardons or Reprieves; but that in times of Sickneſs, they determin'd whether the Patient ſhould live or die: Ἐςὶ δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἱερογραμματεῦσι καὶ βίβλος ἱερὰ καλουμένη Ἄμβρης, (which is, I doubt not, an *Egptian* word, nor does it occur in any *Lexicon*, only in *Heſychius* I find Ἀμβεύζειν, Θεραπεύειν οἱ τοῖς ἱεροῖς, and perhaps Ἄμβρης is Θεραπευτική) for the Ἱερογραμματεὺς had a Sacred Book, which they called *Ambres* (probably a Medicinal Treatiſe, one of the ſix Books of *Hermes*, which he wrote upon that Subject) by the Inſpection of which, they judg'd whether the ſick Perſon would either die, or recover. So much for the Γραμματεύς.

Συμποσιαρχία.

It is unqueſtionable, that the Heathens treated their Mock-Deities (and they did ſo in imitation of what the True God himſelf commanded the Jews under

under the *Moſaical* Conſtitutions) as great Princes uſe to be ſerv'd. The Temple was the Palace of the God, the Prieſts his Servants; he had every Day his Sacrifices, (and the Heathen Notion was, That the Deity liv'd upon the Steams and Blood of thoſe Oblations, as the True God is ſaid to *ſmell a ſweet-ſmelling ſavour.*) The Temple was nobly furniſht with whatever might ſerve for Pomp or Uſe, with Tables (on which the Meat-Offerings and Drink-Offerings were preſented,) with *Pulvinaria* and *Lectiſternia*; with Beds, and Pillows of State, whereon he might reſt himſelf, (for they believ'd him Perſonally preſent in the Place that was conſecrated to his Honour, as the True God dwelt in the *Sanctum Sanctorum*) and whatever other Utenſils were requiſite: And on the Days of High Solemnity, the People were entertain'd at the Expence of the Idol (tho' themſelves pay'd for it, part of their own Sacrifices being deputed to that uſe) with Muſick, and a ſplendid Feaſt, particularly on the Anniverſary Feſtival of the Dedication of the Temple; and a Maſter of the Feaſt was conſtituted to

ſee all things managed with *decorum*, and in good Order. This Officer, probably, is called, in the Sacred Writings, Ἀρχιτρίκλινος: in the *Palmyrene* Inſcription, Συμποσίαρχος τῆς τοῦ Διὸς Βήλου ἱερῶν: the *Sympoſiarch*, in the Sacrifices of *Jupiter Belus*; which Office was diſcharg'd by *Septimius Orodes*. *Varro* calls the *Sympoſiarch*, *Modimperator*; *Arrian*, Βασιλεύς: *Plutarch*, ſometimes, Συμποσίου Πρύτανις, at other times Συμποσίου Ἄρχων, or Συμποσίου Βασιλεύς. The Place (as well as the Entertainment) was called Συμπόσιον. *Heſyc.* Συμπόσιον, τόπος δὲ ὠχίας ἢ πόσεως. The Seats, or Couches, whereon the Gueſts were placed, Κλῖναι Συμποσίου. So the old *Gloſſary*. *Lectus Genialis*, Κλίνη Συμποσίου.) *Julius Pollux* ſays the *Sympoſiarch* was the Curator, the Director and Governor of the Feaſt; (the Ἑστιάτωρ, or Ἑστιοῦχος, in *Ariſtophanes*,) and that he was choſen either by Lot, or by Vote; by Lot, ſays * *Arrian*. *Plutarch*, in a Treatiſe written on purpoſe on this Subject with great accuracy, as if he had been forming a Statue of Wax, *how a Sympoſiarch ought to behave himſelf*, ſays, † That in his time the Practice was

L. 6. c. 1.

* *In Epict. l. 1. c. 25.*

† *Quæſt. Conviv. l. 1. Probl. 4.*

was grown into diſuſe, (I ſuppoſe he means in Private Feaſts; for in Solemn Feſtivals, I queſtion not but it was preſerv'd,) and that he and his Friends would endeavour to reſtore it; That the *King* (ſo he calls the *Sympoſiarch*) was crown'd, after he had been choſen by the common Conſent of the Company; That his Province was, to make and impoſe the Laws of Drinking; That he ought to be a Man of Skill in that Exercile, and a Man of Prudence, to conſider that he govern'd his Friends, (That a Tyrannical Adminiſtration would miſ-become ſuch a Prince,) and ſo to order the diſtribution of the Wine according to every Man's capacity, that no one in the Company might prove troubleſom in his Drink, and ſo to mix Water with every Glaſs, that every Man might be able to bear it: By which Method they did wind up every Man's Humour to ſuch a peg, that the diſſonant Tempers, as Diſcords in Muſick make Harmony, might promote the Mirth and Good Humour of the Company. He blames ſome Men, who turn'd the Room into a Court of Juſtice, a School, or a Play-houſe, introducing

ducing Orators with their Declamations, Muſick and Dancers, all which he diſlikes. He diſtinguiſhes between Private and Publick Feaſts; between what was Sacred, and what not; and cenſures *Alcibiades* and *Theodorus*, that they managed the Private Feaſt of *Polytion*, as if it had been an Entertainment at a Solemn Sacrifice; for they had their Torch-bearers, and Eccleſiaſtical Officers who explained the Myſteries (*Hierophantæ*,) whereas nothing ſhould be ſaid or done in ſuch a Meeting, but what is agreeable to the Deſign; That a ſtrict *decorum* ought to be obſerv'd in ſuch Meetings; That a Man with a hoarſe Voice ought not to be commanded to ſing, nor a lame Man to dance, nor an old Fellow to comb his Bald Head; That the Inſtitution was ſerious, tho' the Management pleaſant and jocular; and that a Reward was given to him who ſhould entertain the Company with any thing that was new and diverting, provided it were comely and honeſt. Thus *Plutarch.*

That all the Company obeyed the Maſter of the Feaſt, is plain from that paſſage in *Arrian*, who ſays, That in the

Ubi ſup.

the *Saturnalia* the King was choſen by Lot; That he commanded every one in Company, and order'd him his Buſineſs, Προσάγει σὺ πῖε, σὺ κέρασον, σὺ ᾆσον (*lege* ᾆσον) *&c. Drink you, and do you fill, while the third Man ſings; Go you home, you have your Doſe, and come you in:* — And every Man obeys, leſt he ſhould diſturb the Mirth of the Company. The Rule of Drinking was ſtated and known, every Man according to his capacity, the *Sympoſiarch* being Judge, and every wiſe Man as much as he pleaſed. So when the King of *Perſia* made his Feaſt to his Subjects (ἐποίησε πότον, the *LXX.* render it) they all drank according to Law, ſo ſay our Tranſlators; but the *LXX.* ὲ κατὰ προκείμενον νόμον, not according to the Rules which were uſually preſcribed by the Maſter of the Feaſt, every Man drank what himſelf pleaſed. And when *Ageſilaus the Great*, being choſen the *Sympoſiarch*, was askt by the Servant who fill'd the Wine, what quantity of Liquor he ſhould give to every Man? *If there be much Wine* (ſays he) *give every Man as much as he deſires; if but a little, divide it equal.* And I queſtion not

Plut. Apopht. Laconic.

not but theſe Rules of Drinking were obſerved in Solemn, Publick and Religious Feſtivals, as well as in Private Entertainments, ſince much of the *Pagan* Religion conſiſted in good Eating and Drinking, and other Methods of Jollity.

Ἐπιμελητὴς τῆς Πηγῆς.

Nor were the Senate of *Palmyra* only concern'd for the immediate Rites of their own City, but they choſe out of their Men of Condition, one or more to inſpect the Places in their Neighbourhood, dedicated to their Religious Worſhip. So *Bolanus* the Son of *Zenobius*, the Nephew of *Airanes*, who was the Son of *Mocimus*, the Grandſon of *Matthas*, was the Curator of the Fountain dedicated to *Venus*, at *Nacle* (or *Naclis*) a City that was ſituate between *Heliopolis* (the *Syrian Heliopolis*) and *Biblus*, under *Jaribolus*, who being one of their (Πατρῶοι Θεοὶ) Countrey Gods, was the Preſident of the Place. Of *Jaribolus* I ſhall treat hereafter; at preſent, of the Overſeer or Guardian of the Fountain. The *Curators* (that is the

the true *Roman* Name) were thoſe who probably ſuperintended the Repairs of the Fountain, collected and improved the Revenues, and made Proviſion for the great Crowds who came thither to conſult the Oracle, or viſited the Place, out of (miſtaken) Devotion, at the ſolemn times appointed: They were the *Æditui Fontium*, or the Πηγοκόροι.

There were ſeveral ſorts of Ἐπιμελητὰι among the Antients, who had their Denomination from their Concerns: The Overſeer of the *Appian* way (Ἐπιμελητὴς ὁδῦ Ἀππίας) occurs in *Gruter*, (and the People of *Spain* were for a while very eager Diſputants for the Honour of a new Saint, whoſe Tomb they had found, call'd St. *Viar*, through their miſtake of a broken Inſcription, of which only theſe Fragments remained, S. *VIAR*, i.e. *Curatores Viarum*.) So the Ἀγωνοθέται were the Overſeers of their Games, ſays *Julius Pollux*. Ἄθλων Ἐπιμελητάι. And Princes are ſaid to be Ἐπιμελητὰι Θεῶν—Ὑπηκόων—Preſervers of the Rights of Religion, and of their Subjects. The *Curators* of the Imperial Palaces and Revenues were

P. 495. 2.

L. 3. c. 30.

were Men of the Senatorian, and ſometimes of the Conſular Dignity, ſays *Agathias*: Ἀνατόλιον τῶν ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ βουλῇ ἀναγεγραμμένων — ἄνδρα τῇ τῶν ὑπάτων ἀξίᾳ τετιμημένον, καὶ πρός γε τὸ φροντίδα τίθεσθαι, καὶ ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν βασιλέως οἴκων τε καὶ κτημάτων ἀρχὴν εἰληφότα. κουράτωρας δὲ τούτους καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. And the Wardens of the Port at *Athens* are ſtyled Ἐμπορίου Ἐπιμεληταὶ in *Harpocration*, who inſpected the Ships, that bought Corn into the Port, and took care that the City might not want Bread. They were, ſays * *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, Ὑπηρέται τῶν δημάρχων, καὶ συνάρχοντας, καὶ δικασταῖ, Aſſiſtants to the *Demarchus* at *Athens*, Copartners with him in his Government, and Judges of Cauſes: But now, ſays he, from one part of their Buſineſs, they are called Ἱερῶν τόπων Ἐπιμεληταὶ, the *Guardians of Holy Places*. The Truſt was thought too great for any ſingle Perſon. At *Athens* the number was Five, the *Preſident* (or Βασιλεὺς,) with Four Aſſeſſors, who were choſen by the People, two out of the Citizens in general, the third out of the *Eumolpidæ*, the fourth out of the

Lib. 5.

* *Lib. 6. p. 411.*

Ariſtot. π. πολιτ. Ἀθην. Apud Harpocrat.

the *Ceryces* (the Deſcendants from *Eumolpus* and *Ceryx*.) In the *Panathenæa & Dionyſia* their number was encreaſed to Ten, one out of every Tribe; but their Buſineſs was only the overſight of the Games (the Wreſtlings, Horſe-races, and Muſick:) And when the greater Myſteries were celebrated, Ten inferior Prieſts (ἱεροποιοὶ) were added to the Βασιλεὺς and Ἐπιμεληταὶ, as Aſſiſtants in Sacrificing. *Pollux. l.* 8. *c.* 9. V. *c.* 8.

But though the Number at *Athens*, of their *Curators* of their Myſteries and Sacred Places, were but Four; at *Nacle*, its plain, they were more, from the Inſcription, Eight at the leaſt, and how many more we know not. At *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, the Ἐπιμελητὴς ἱερῶν τοπῶν was a Perſon of great Honour, from whoſe Office they commonly dated their Inſcriptions, the Senate and People erecting a Monument to the Honour of *Fulvius Ruſticus Æmilianus* their Benefactor, Ἐπιμελεμένυ Μενοτησβίυ Ἀλεξάνδρυ, when *Menotesbius Alexander* was their Ἐπιμελητὴς, (ſo I am enclined to render it, not that he only took care of the Inſcription.) Another Inſcription was ſet up to the Honour of *T. Fl. Tæanus*, V. *Marm. I. in Memor. Coſſon. p.* 140. *Marm.* 3. *p.* 141.

Φυλαξ-

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Φυλαρ-

Φυλαρχȣ̃ντος Ἀγησιλάȣ (when *Agesilaus Secundus* was *Phylarchus*, so they call'd the Commander of the Horse of every Tribe, who was a Lieutenant-General to the General of the Horse, says *Harpocration*,) *Flavius Asclepius* and *Aurelius Asclepius* (Ἐπιμελȣμένων) being *Curators*, for there were more than One at *Ancyra*; and sometimes the same Person was both the *Phylarchus* and Ἐπιμελητής. Another Inscription to the Honour of the same *Tæanus* being erected (Φυλαρχȣ̃ντος καὶ Ἐπιμελȣμένȣ Πȣςȣμίȣ, Φυλαρχȣ̃ντος καὶ Ἐπιμελȣμένȣ Ἀντονίȣ Ἀντωνείνȣ) when *Posthumius* and *Antonius Antoninus* were both Φύλαρχοι and Ἐπιμεληταί. But this I propose only as a Conjecture, and shall be glad to be corrected, if mistaken.

Marm. 4. *p.* 142.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of their Idolatry and Superſtition.

I Shall not undertake to fix the *Epocha* of the Original of *Idolatry*, nor determine what Creature on this ſide the Higheſt Heaven, which is the Throne of the Great Creator of the World, was the firſt Object of Superſtitious Worſhip; but I have great reaſon to believe, that when Religious Adoration was firſt transferr'd from the True God, it was given to the Heavenly Bodies, to the *Sun* and *Moon*, they being the moſt illuſtrious Viſible part of the Creation, and for ought that any Man, the oldeſt in the World, could remember or know (further than Revelation gave him infallible Inſtruction) might be, as they have continued Unchangeable and Incorruptible in their Nature, ſo Eternal in their Duration, they having been made and fix'd in their glorious Spheres, before the firſt Man's Breath was breath'd into his Noſtrils from Above: Whereas the

older Heathens knew the Pedigree, and the times of the ſeveral Births of their *Saturns* and *Jupiters*, and the whole Race of Gods derived from them; their firſt Books of Heathen Divinity being written upon the Subject of the *Theogony*, or the Generation of their Gods.

But beſides the Antiquity of their Original, their Uſefulneſs and Beneficence to the World was another Encouragement to the Worſhip of the *Sun* and *Moon*; (and if we examine the late Pretenſions of *Polytheiſm*, we ſhall find, that in a great part it proceeded from this Belief, That ſuch and ſuch Perſons having been Benefactors to the World in many uſeful Inventions, they were for thoſe Reaſons, after their deaths, Deify'd and ador'd.) For what greater Bleſſings were the Heathens ſenſible of, than what the *Sun*, and, in a leſs degree, the *Moon* beſtowed, who not only diſtinguiſht the Seaſons of the Year (the variety of which are neceſſary to the Productions of the Earth, and the growth of Animals) and regulated the Computations of Time, but gave to all Creatures Health and Vigour, and the Preſervatives of Life; Light, the firſt Bleſſing

Bleſſing the World ever ſaw, and the trueſt Emblem of the Divinity; and Heat, and genial Warmth, to cheriſh and Promote the Eaſe of Mankind, which alſo produc'd all things neceſſary for Life, form'd Minerals in the Bowels of the Earth, and regulated the Motions of the Sea.

And when ſome of the moſt ancient of the Eaſtern Sages, finding ſome Diſcords in Nature, which they could not reconcile, agreed to aſſert two Firſt Principles of Good and Evil, yet they choſe the *Sun* to repreſent Both (as a common Agent in both their Names;) becauſe when the *Sun* was in their Horizon, they were Partakers of its Light, and its Heat; but when it retir'd, they were cover'd with Darkneſs (unleſs ſupplied by the *Moon*) becauſe his Influences gave Life, and promoted the Generation of Animals, but his Abſence introduced Corruption and Death. And to preſerve the remembrance, ſince the *Sun* was not always in view, the Orientals maintained an Unexſtinguiſht Fire to repreſent it (nothing here below comeing ſo near to the Image of that great Light, as *Fire*.) Nor did thoſe

Sages believe thoſe glorious Planets to be meer Machines fix'd to their Orbs, but, as the *Platoniſts* talkt of Intelligences, who mov'd thoſe great Bodies, ſo they thought them the Reſidences of the Divinity (the *Senſible Sun* to be the Seat of the *Intellectual Sun.*) And ſo the *Manichees*, who had their two firſt Principles from the *Perſian* Magi, aver'd, that our Bleſſed Saviour dwelt in the *Sun*: And therefore they, contrary to the Chriſtians of thoſe early Ages, who conſtantly and at all times ador'd toward the *Eaſt*, directed their Worſhip toward the *Sun*, in what part ſoever of the Heavens he was, believing that to be the Tabernacle fix'd for our Bleſſed Lord, in which he liv'd and mov'd. And among the *Egyptians* (between whom and the *Perſians*, or *Chaldeans*, there was a Diſpute for Seniority in the Schools of ancient Learning) they had a Tradition, That the firſt Books of Religious Worſhip were given to them by a Hawk, who brought them to the Prieſts of *Egypt* from the *Sun*, whoſe Bird the Hawk was, and by which they repreſented that noble Planet; as they did alſo *Venus*, ſays *Horapollo*. And

And its unqueſtionable to me, that *Baal*, *Moloch*, *Milchom*, *Rimmon*, *Chemoſh*, *Chiun*, *Niſroch*, *Nergal*, and ſeveral other Deities mention'd in the Sacred Writings; as alſo *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, *Hercules*, *Oſiris*, *Belus*, *Apollo*, *Mithras*, *Marnas*, &c. were no other than the *Sun*: as *Aſtarte*, *Urania*, *Iſis*, *Milytta*, *Alilath*, *Cybele*, *Juno*, *Lucina*, *Diana*, and *Venus*, were no other than the *Moon*. The *Phænicians* call'd the *Sun*, μόνον ὐρανῦ Θεὸς (ſays *Philo Byblius*) *The only God of Heaven*, who hears all Mens Prayers, and inſpects all their Wants, ſays *Orpheus*, (and from *Orpheus* the *Pythagoreans*, as from *Pythagoras* the *Platoniſts*, and other *Greeks*, receiv'd their Knowledge of the Gods, ſays * *Proclus*, out of *Pythagoras* himſelf; Ἄνωθεν γὰρ λόγος ἡ Ὀρφικῆς παραδόσεως διὰ Πυθαγόρου εἰς Ἕλληνας ἡ περὶ τῶν Θεῶν ὑποτύπωσις ἐληλύθεν.) The *King*, ſays *Julian* (*i. e. Moloch*) the Governor of all Things. And the *Moon* is call'd the *Queen of Heaven*, in Holy Writ; and the *Mother of the World*, in *Alexander* of *Aphrodiſias*, and *Plutarch*. For though the Heathen Deities were worſhipt differently in different Countreys,

V. *Seld de Diis Syris.*

* In *Plat. Timæum*, p. 289.

and under different Names, they had all relation to the ſame thing, ſays *Artemidorus*, (Ἄλλοι ᾖ ἄλλως τιμῶσι Θεὸς· ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸ τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἔχουσι πάντες·) And this I ſhall briefly prove.

Oneirocr. l. 1. c. 9. p. 14.

That the *Sun* is deſcribed under that variety of Names, is plain from the ancient Writers and Inſcriptions: *Saturn* was the *Sun*, ſays * *Theophilus*; (the *Orientals* worſhipt *Saturn*, whom they call'd *Bel*, or *Baal*; and theſe *Orientals* were the *Phœnicians* and *Syrians*, ſays *Damaſcius*, in the Life of *Iſidorus*, † who call'd *Saturn*, *El*, *Bel*, and *Bolathus*; and no Man doubts but *Bel* was the *Sun*:) And ſo was *Jupiter* in the Eſteem of the ſame *Syrians*, ſays ‖ *Macrobius*; *Aſſyrii quoque Solem ſub nomine Jovis, quem* Δία Ἡλιοπολίτην *nominant, maximis ceremoniis celebrant in civitate, quæ Heliopolis nuncupatur*; (who, in the *Palmyrene* Inſcriptions, is called Ζεὺς Βὴλ, in others, Ζεὺς Ἥλιος.) And *Herodotus* ſays, the *Perſians* called the whole Circle of the Heavens, *i. e.* the Courſe of the Sun, *Jupiter*. And from the Coins we learn, that the Antients had their Πάνθεον Ζεὺς,

* *Ad Autolic. l. 3. p. 282.*

† *Apud Phot. Cod. 242.*

‖ *Saturn. l. 1. c. 23.*

Ζεὺς, *i. e.* the *Sun*; as well as their Πάνδημος Ἀφροδίτη, the *Moon*. * *Malela* informs us, "That *Mars* was "*Baal*; That the *Aſſyrians* erected a "Pillar at firſt to *Mars*, whom in the "days of *Juſtinian* they continued to "worſhip, calling him, in the *Perſian* "Tongue, the God *Baal*, i. e. *Mars* "*the Warlike*. (Though *Jamblichus* avers, that *Azizus*, i. e. *Mars*, among the *Syrians*, was but one of the Aſſeſſors, or Attendants of the *Sun*.) No Man doubts but that *Apollo* was the *Sun*; (and as it was cuſtomary to hang up Tables of extraordinary Cures, with the Method of Cure, in the Temple of *Æſculapius* at *Coos*; ſo was it uſual, at *Heliopolis*, to do ſo in the Temple of the *Sun*: For † *Nicolaus Myrepſus* ſays, that the Medicine called *Climax Hermaicus* was tranſcribed from the Original preſerv'd in the Temple of the *Sun* at *Heliopolis*, written in the *Cilician* Characters.) And ſo was *Adonis*, ſays || *Macrobius*, (*Adonim Solem eſſe non dubitabitur, inſpectâ religione Aſſyriorum, apud quos Veneris Architidis, & Adonis maxima olim veneratio viguit, quam nunc Phœnices tenent*) worſhipt both

* *Par.* 1. p. 20.

† *C.* 121.

|| *Satur.* l. 1. c. 21.

both by the *Syrians* and *Phœnicians*. Now *Adonis*, among the *Phœnicians*, ſignifies a *Lord*, Ἄδωνις δεσπότης, ſays *Heſychius*; i. e. *Adonai*, among the *Jews*; among the *Syrians*, *Moloch*; but by the *Egyptians*, *Tammuz*. *Mercury* (the *Syrian Mocimus*, in *Jamblichus*) was one of the Attendants of the *Sun*; and ſo was *Hercules*; as *Mnevis* and *Apis* were ſacred to the *Sun* and *Moon* in *Egypt*, and *Anubis* was reckon'd of his Guard, (Τὸν Ἄνουβιν Αἰγύπτιοι τὴν τοῦ Ὁσίριδος φρουρὸν ποιοῦσι, ſays *Proclus*;) as the *Bætuli* in *Syria* were reckoned his Aſſiſtants, ſays *Damaſcius*: And ſuch, I ſuppoſe, were *Jaribolus*, and *Malachbelus*, and *Alagbelus* (or *Elabelus*, as it is written in the Inſcriptions) at *Palmyra*: not the *Summer* and *Winter Sun*, as Mr. *Selden*; nor the *Sun* and *Moon*, as Mr. *Halley*; but *Dii Patrii*, or *Penates*, *Aſſiſtants* to the *Sun*. For the *Sun* was reputed the King of Heaven, ſurrounded with numerous Guards, and a Crowd of Attendants, (called, in Holy Writ, the *Hoſt of Heven*,) the *Signs* of the *Zodiack* were reckon'd his *Aſſeſſors*; and the *Planets*, his *Lictors*, his Ῥαβδοφόροι, or *Mace-bearers*, ſays our very

In Plat. Polit. p. 417.

very learned *Selden*, out of the Antients; and 'tis conſiderable, that moſt of his Names among the Orientals, were rather expreſſive of his Dignity, than his Nature, as *Baal*, *Moloch*, *Mithras*, *Marnas*, *Adonis*, and the like, which are all Titles of Honour and Authority.

And if *Jupiter Thalaſſius* were the Heathen *Neptune*, then *Neptune* was the Sun; Θαλάσσιος Ζεὺς ἐν Σιδῶνι τιμᾶται, ſays *Heſychius*; *He was worſhipt at Sidon:* And 'tis well known, that the *Sun* was the God of the *Sidonians*. And *Nonnus*, in his *Dionyſiaca*, *Lib.* 11. ſays Βῆλος ἐπ' Εὐφράταο, &c. That he was called *Belus* by the *Syrians* (the Inhabitants of *Euphrates*, at *Palmyra*, and thereabout,) *Ammon* in *Lybia*, *Apis* in *Egypt*, *Saturn* among the *Arabs*; but among the *Aſſyrians*, *Jupiter*, Nor was *Pluto* a different Deity, ſays the Emperor *Julian*, whoſe excellent Oration in Praiſe of the *Sun* is well worth reading,

Εἷς Ζεὺς, εἷς Ἀΐδης ἥλιός θ' Σάραπις.

That *Sarapis* alſo was the *Sun*, is plain from what is already ſaid, and from

* XXII. 10, 11. from the old Inſcription in * *Gruter*, Ζεὺς ἥλιος μέγας Σάραπις. And

† *Par.* 2. *p.* 46. † *Malela* ſays, that *Theodoſius* cauſed to be ſhut up at *Alexandria* (τὸ Ἱερὸν τοῦ Σεραπιδος ἡλίου) the Temple of *Serapis* the *Sun*. That the Perſian *Mithras* was the ſame Deity, no Man doubts. *Xenophon*, who had been in that Countrey, ſays that they ſwore by *Mithras* the *Sun*. And the ancient Inſcription in || *Gruter* is dedicated Ἡλίῳ Μίθρᾳ ἀνικήτῳ. And whereas *Damaſcius* ſays, that at *Heliopolis*, the Image of *Gennæus*, in the Temple of *Jupiter*, was worſhipt in the Figure of a *Lion* erect; what does it repreſent, but the *Mithræ Leones*, of which *Tertullian* treats? ſo was *Bel*. *Serv. in Æn.* 1. *Linguâ Punica Bal dicitur apud Aſſyrios autem Bel* — *& Saturnus, & Sol.* And

Oeconom. c. 8.

|| XXXIII. 9.

L. 1. *p.* 56. *Zoſimus* ſays, that when *Aurelian* had built a noble Temple at *Rome* to the Honour of the *Sun*, he placed in it Ἡλίου τε καὶ Βήλου ἀγάλματα, read it Ἡλίου τοῦ καὶ Βήλου ἀγάματα) the Images of the *Sun*, who was *Belus*, which he had brought with him from *Palmyra*: This *Bel* was the ſame with the *Deus Belenus* of the *Germans*, and the *Abellio* of

of the ancient *Gauls*, and accordingly they offer'd Humane Sacrifices to him: *Hominem optimam, & gratiſſimam Diis victimam*, ſays * *Mela* of the old *Gauls*. Thus was *Moloch* worſhipt among the *Jews*, *Edomites*, and others, who ſacrificed their Children to the Idol. The ſame Oblation did the *Africans* make to *Saturn*; and *Elagabalus* the Emperor, to his Country God *Alagbaal* his Nameſake, ſays † *Herodian*.

* *L.3.c.2.*

† *In Pſeud. Anton. l.5.*

That *Oſiris*, *Omphis*, and *Nilus*, were different Names of the ſame glorious Luminary, our learned Mr. *Selden* hath undeniably proved. And ſo was *Orus*, ſays *Horapollo*, (Ἥλιος ὁ Ὧρος.) In ſhort, *Julian* ſays, that all the ſeveral Names of the Heathen Gods were expreſſive in a different manner of the Glory of the *Sun*; Τί ἔν ἔπι σοι Ὧρον λέγω, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα Θεῶν ὀνόματα τὰ πάντα ἡλίῳ προσήκοντα. Nor did the *Arabs*, in the time of *Alexander the Great*, worſhip any other Gods but the *Heaven*, i. e. the *Sun* and *Bacchus*, ſays || *Arrian*, [or rather *Bacchus* and *Urania*, as *Herodotus*, and *Celſus* in *Origen*, affirm, *i. e.* the *Sun*, and the *Moon*;

L. 1. Hieroglyc.

* *L. 7. de Expedit. Alex.*

Moon; for *Bacchus* was no other than *Oſiris*, and *Adonis*,] the Iſland of *Noſala*, and ſome other whole Countries, being dedicated to his Service. In *Paleſtine* they devoted Horſes and Chariots to his Honour, to denote the Swiftneſs of his Motion, 1 *King.* 23. and they worſhipt him toward the Eaſt, the Riſing-Sun, *Ezek.* 8. turning their Backs upon the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, which was toward the Weſt. His Feſtival was celebrated with great Pomp, ſays *Julian*; his Birth-Day was celerated on the 25th. of *December*, ſays the old *Calendar*, and his Day of the Week, at *Antioch*, was dedicated, in their higheſt Solemnities, to the nobleſt Exerciſes, the Horſe-races, ſays *Malela*. And when the Heathens ſwore with the greateſt gravity, they call'd him to witneſs the Truth of what they ſaid; Ὀμνύω Δία, Γῆν, Ἥλιον (not διὰ γῆν, as it is publiſh'd,) *I ſwear by* Jupiter, *the* Earth, *the* Sun, *and the other Gods.* And this I mention, that I may take leave to mention another ſuch Correction in † *Ariſteas*; Τὸν γὰρ πάντων ἐπόπτην καὶ κτίστην Θεὸν ὅτι σέβομεν, οὐ καὶ πάντες, ἡμεῖς δὲ μάλιστα, προσονομάζοντες ἑτέρως Ζῆνα καὶ Δία, ὅτως, &c. (not διὰ ὅτο;) for if ſo, it ſhould be διὰ τοῦτο, &c.

* *Auſon. Epigr.* 29.

Marm. Oxon. 1.

† *Edit. Ox. p.* 7.

The

The *Moon* was reputed the Siſter and Wife of the *Sun*, as *Juno* was of *Jupiter*; and the ſame with *Venus*, ſays *Philochorus*, in *Macrobius*. Now, *Venus* was a very comprehenſive Name among the Antients, ſays * *Ptolemy*, *The* Syrians *worſhip* Venus, *as the Mother of the Gods*, (ποικίλοις, καὶ ἐγχωρίοις ὀνόμασι προσαγορεύοντες,) *calling her by ſeveral Names in ſeveral Countries.* And *Plutarch* affirms, that the Goddeſs of *Hierapolis* was by ſome called *Venus*; by others, *Juno*; by a third ſort, *Nature*, that gave Beginning and Seeds to all Things: By the *Aſſyrians*, *Arabs*, and *Perſians*, ſhe was ador'd under the Name of *Urania*, ſays † *Herodotus*: And in *Africa*, ſays ‖ *Tertullian*. And ∴ *Apuleius* calls her *Dea Cæleſtis magna Jovis germana, & conjux.* And ſo ſays *Plotinus*, (*Urania* was *Venus* and *Juno*, the Wife and Siſter of *Jupiter*.) And ſhe is called by ·∴ *Herodotus*, Οὐρανίη Ἀφροδίτη, the *Governeſs of the Stars*, *i. e.* the Queen of Heaven. (And for this reaſon the *Egyptians* accounted it abſurd to call *Heaven*, Οὐρανὸς, by a word of the Maſculine Gender; they ſtyling it *Urania*, becauſe the *Moon* governs all Things.)

* *Tetrabib. l.* 1.

In Craſſ.

† *Lib.* 3.

‖ *Apologet.*

∴ *Lib.* 6. *Met.*

·∴ *Lib.* 5.

Things.) And therefore *Elagabalus* the Emperor being himſelf called by the Name of the *Sun*, called his Wife *Urania*, as if they had been the *Sun* and *Moon*. * *Lucian* ſays, that the *Syrians* at *Byblos* (the next Town to *Hierapolis*, for this reaſon, in the Coins, called Ἱερὰ, *the Sacred Byblus*) worſhipt *Venus* and *Adonis* with great Solemnity, and that the *Phœnician Aſtarte* was the *Moon*, (Τὴν Ἀσάρτην, ἥγουν Ἀφροδίτην, ſays *Procopius*, in 2 *King*. 17.) ſhe being ador'd in *Syria* under that Name, in the days of † *Artemidorus*, *i.e.* under the *Antonines*, (Ἰχθύας πάντες ἐσθίουσι πλὴν Συρῶν τινῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀσάρτην σεβομένων.) And the abovemention'd *Lucian* ſays, that the *Juno* at *Hierapolis* (the Goddeſs of *Syria*) was of all Shapes, but ſtill the ſame Goddeſs; ſhe was in ſome Features like *Minerva*; in others, like *Venus*, the *Moon*, *Rhea*, *Diana*, *Nemeſis*, and the *Deſtinies*. *Macrobius* ſays, that the *Syrians* worſhipt *Adonis* (*i. e.* the *Sun*,) and *Venus Architis* (*i. e.* the *Moon*.) Some Criticks read the word *Adargidis*; others, *Dercitidis*; but Mr. *Selden*, *Aphaciditis*. And it muſt be acknowledg'd,

* *de Deâ Syr.*

† Oneir. *l.* 1. *c.* 9. *p.* 14.

Ubi ſup.

knowledg'd, that *Venus* was ſolemnly worſhipt at *Aphaca*, a Place not far from *Hierapolis*; and ſo prohably was ſhe at *Arca*, a City in *Syria*, not far from *Aphaca*, and near both *Hierapolis* and *Byblus*, the Place where *Alexander Severus* was born, ſays * *Lampridius* (who in one place calls it *Urbs Arcena*; in another, *Arca Cæſarea*) one of the In-land † Cities of *Phœnicia*. So that I think the words in *Macrobius* need not correction: for as from *Aphaca* is derived *Aphacitis*; ſo from *Arca*, *Arcitis*. *Venus* being the known Deity of all that Country, || St. *Auſtin* wonders why the Heathens ſhould account *Veſta* and *Venus* the ſame, while the one was the Goddeſs of Chaſtity, the other the Patroneſs of Lewdneſs: But his Admiration would have ceas'd, had he conſider'd, that the ſame Mock-Divinity was repreſented under thoſe different Names. That *Iſis*, *Lucina*, *Diana*, *Hecate*, &c. were the *Moon*, is prov'd by Mr. *Selden*: And though *Athens* were *Minerva's* own City (and ſhe the Patroneſs of *Modeſty*,) yet *Theſeus* their Founder commanded the Citizens to worſhip Πάνδημον Ἀφροδίτην, ſays * *Pauſanias*,

* P. 114, 118.

† *Ptol. l. 5. c. 15.*

|| *De C. D. l. 4. c. 10.*

* *Attic. p. 20.*

ſanias, the ſame, I ſuppoſe, with *Pallas*. The *Pythagoreans* ſacrificed to *Venus* (*i. e.* the *Moon*) on the Sixth Day of their Week, *i. e. Friday*, ſays * *Jamblichus*; a Day ſacred alſo among the *Arabs* (being dedicated to their *Urania*) long before *Mahometaniſm* prevail'd among them. And leſt the *Moon* ſhould be treated with an inferior Worſhip, and appear without Attendants, the Antients offer'd Immortal Fire to Her, as well as to the *Sun*, ſays *Julian*, and gave her a *Paredrus*, or Companion; Τύχων ὁ περὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην Θεὸς, in *Heſychius*; the Τύχη Ἀγαθὴ *Sors Lunæ*, ſays Mr. *Selden*; but *Macrobius* ſays, that Τύχη is the *Moon* herſelf.

* *Vit. Pythag. l.* 1. *c.* 28.

Satur. l. 1. *c.* 19.

And it is to be obſerv'd, that the Antients allow'd not of Sexes among their Gods; or rather, thought every God of both: .Hence *Orpheus* calls the *Moon*, Ἀρρενόθηλυς. And ſo is *Bacchus* ſtyled,

Ἀρρένα καὶ θῆλυν διφυῆ Λύσειον Ἴακχον.

And *Calvus* the old Poet, in *Macrobius*,

Pollentémque Deum Venerem.

And the *Deus Lunus* was famous in the Eaſt,

East, worshipt at *Carræ* in *Mesopotamia* (on whose Coins a *Cock* is stampt, because he was Ἰυέτης καὶ Ἱερὸς τοῦ μηνός, says * *Jamblichus* in the esteem of the *Pythagoreans*, Μήνῃ καὶ ἡλίῳ καθιερωθείς, sacred to the *Sun* and *Moon*,) at *Ancyra* in *Galatia*, at *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, at *Nisa* in *Caria*, at *Gaba* in *Galilee*, at *Juliopolis* in *Bithynia*, at *Magnesia* in *Asia*, at *Sættæ* in *Lydia*, and at *Sibiduda* in *Phrygia Salutaris*, as the Coins in F. *Harduin* expresly declare.

* *Vit. Pyth. l.* 1. *c.* 18. *& l.* 2. *c.* 21.

It is highly probable, that the Worship of the *Sun* was the Religion of the *Chaldeans*, in *Abraham*'s time, when God rescued that learned and devout Patriarch from the Prejudices of his Education, and the Persecutions of his Adversaries; (and if the Sacred Rites of the *Chaldeans* had their Original in *Egypt*, and were thence transplanted into the East, the Idolatry begun much earlier:) But this we are sure of, that the first Account that is given us of Idolatry, in the oldest Book in the World, the oldest, at least, that is come to the hands of the Men of the later Ages (the Book of *Job*, which, I may presume, was penn'd before the History

Hiſtory of the *Creation* it ſelf) is that of the Worſhip of the *Sun* and *Moon*, of * *worſhipping the Sun in his ſplendour, and the Moon walking in her brightneſs*, long before any of the Heathen *Saturns* or *Jupiters* could enter their claim, they all having been born long after *Job*'s time. And the Form of Adoration there mention'd is very ancient (*Kiſſing the Hand, and paying Obeyſance,*) which is naturally render'd by Προσκυνησις and *Adoratio*, among the *Greeks* and *Latins*. And when the *Jews* turn'd Idolaters, they are ſaid, *Judg.* 10. to *worſhip Baalim and Aſhteroth*, that is, in the *Punick* Language, ſays St. *Auguſtine*, the *Jupiters* and *Juno's* of the Heathen World; by which he cannot mean other than the *Sun* and *Moon*: For *Jupiter* and *Juno*, in the Age juſt after *Joſhua*, were not then in Embryo; and when the Gentiles of ſucceeding Ages, the latter School of the *Platoniſts* (who were great Admirers of the *Orphick* and *Pythagorean* Rites) aſham'd of the Accounts which the old Poets gave of their Gods, turn'd all the Story of *Homer* and *Heſiod* into Mythology; they ſtill continued the Worſhip of thoſe glorious

* Job 31. 26, 27.

glorious Planets. With what Pomp and Ceremony of Eloquence doth *Julian* the Apoſtate Emperor treat of this Subject, in his Hymn written in Praiſe of the *Sun*, ſtyling him, the *King of all the World*, the *Moſt Divine Prince*, and the *Common Father of Mankind*, (*Aurelian* calls him a Deity that he was ſure of, *Deus certus Sol.*) and, *that all things, from one end of the World to the other, were govern'd by his Providence*; affirming, that for his own part, he had from a Youth a great regard for him; and that at *Conſtantinople* they kept an Annual Feaſt, and offer'd Sacrifices to his Honour. Nor does he forget the *Moon*, who was ſolemnly worſhipt at *Athens* after his time: For **Marinus*, in the Life of *Proclus*, informs us, that when *Lachares* and *Syrianus*, upon the firſt appearance of the *Moon*, did adore the Goddeſs (προσκυνῶν τὴν Θεὰν,) that *Proclus* retiring a little way from them, put off his Shoes (another Cuſtom and Rite of Religious Worſhip, as old at leaſt as *Moſes*, when he convers'd with God in the Buſh, continued by the *Platoniſts*, in compliance with the Rule of *Py-*

* N. 11.

thagoras, Θύειν χρὴ ἀνυπόδετον, *that he who would ſacrifice, ought to diſcalceate,*) and then ſaluted, *i. e.* ador'd the Deity, (ἠσπάζετο τὴν Θεὰν.) And when *Zoſimus* the Pagan Hiſtorian ſtudiouſly aggravates the Severity of the Edict of *Theodoſius,* who deſtroy'd all the Heathen Temples and Images, he ſubjoins, that it was very dangerous for any Man, at that time, to aſſert the Rights of *Paganiſm*, to affirm that the Heathen Deities were Gods, or ſo much as to look up to Heaven, and to worſhip the *Sun* and the *Moon* (καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ φαινόμενα προσκυνεῖν.) And at this day, among thoſe poor Savages who inhabit the remoteſt part of Earth, in *Greenland,* and other Parts of the North, if they have any Religious Ceremonies, any Object of Worſhip, they bow down to the *Riſing-Sun,* and acknowledge its Divinity: As in like manner the old *Scythians,* with whom one continued Night, as in *Greenland,* laſted half the Year, worſhipt *Apollo,* ſays *Mela.* Nor could the Chriſtians eaſily be wean'd from this Cuſtom at *Rome,* a long time after Chriſtianity had prevailed there; for many of them, in the days of Pope

L. 4. p. 245.

L. 3. c. 5.

Pope *Leo the Great*, when they came into the Church of St. *Peter*, as they went up the Steps that led to the Altar, turning themſelves about, bow'd their Heads, and worſhipt the *Riſing-Sun*. *Ser. 7. de Nativitat. Chriſti.*

This Worſhip was objected to the *Jews*, in the days of the firſt *Roman* Emperors, by *Petronius* and *Juvenal*, that they worſhipt nothing but the *Clouds*, and the *Sun*, (for ſo I render *Cæli Numen*,) *i. e.* in the Sacred Style, the *Hoſt of Heaven*. And in the Reign of *Honorius* and *Theodoſius*, the *Cælicolæ* were a new upſtart Sect of Superſtitious Votaries (*Nomen inauditum quodammodo novum crimen ſuperſtitionis vindicantes*, in the words of the *Law*) called *Cælicolæ*, ſays the Collector of the *Synopſis* Βασιλικῶν, becauſe they worſhipt the *Heavens* (Σεβομένους τὸν Οὐρανὸν) who had their ſeparate Places of Meeting, their different Rites, and diſtinct Miniſters of their Religious Ceremonies: But whether they were *Jews*, the remains of the old *Eſſens*, as ſome affirm, (though the *Law* ſeems to me plainly to diſtinguiſh the *Cælicolæ* from the *Jews*,) or ſome *Chriſtian* Hereticks, the Progenitors of the *Euchitæ* (as others *Cod. l. 1. tit. 9. §. 12.*

affirm, though the *Law* alſo ſeems to diſtinguiſh them, when it makes them liable to the ſame Penalties with Hereticks,) or rather ſome of the Remains of the old Heathens, who renounc'd their *Saturns* and *Jupiters* (whoſe Divinities they could not vindicate; becauſe whatever is God, muſt be Eternal) but ſtuck to the Worſhip of the *Sun* and *Moon*, as the later *Platoniſts* did, becauſe they believed them Eternal, and of the ſame Duration with the Supreme Being, I will not undertake to determine.

Conſidering what hath been already aſſerted, I think it needs not much more Proof, that *Syria* was eminently famous for the Worſhip of the *Sun* and *Moon*. In *Syria*, 'tis moſt probable, that this Idolatry either had its firſt Original, or its moſt immediate Propagation; and there it continued till *Paganiſm* breath'd its laſt in that part of the Eaſt, till the Followers of *Mahomet*, profeſt Enemies of *Polytheiſm*, made uſe of the Sword to extirpate it. The whole Country ſeem'd to be devoted to this Service; *Edeſſa* is called the Region dedicated to the *Sun*, from the

Begin-

Beginnings of Time (Ἱερὸν ἐξ αἰῶνος ἱλὺς χωρίον·) and ſo was *Hierapolis-Byblis* ſaid to be conſecrated to *Venus* and *Adonis*, and ſo was all *Phœnicia*. *Æſchylus*, in his *Supplices*, ſtyles *Phœnicia*, τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας πολύπυρον αἶαν, *i.e.* ſaith the Scholiaſt, becauſe all the Coaſt about Mount *Libanus* was particularly addicted to the Worſhip of that Deity: The Worſhip begun in *Aſſyria* (or *Syria*;) from them the Men of *Aſcalon* brought it into *Phœnicia*, and from them the *Cypriotes* deriv'd their Superſtition.) And in the Emperor *Julian*'s time, the *Moon* (the ſame with *Venus*, as I have already prov'd) was moſt ſolemnly worſhipt at *Carræ*, and in all the adjacent Country; and their moſt illuſtrious Princes thought it not a diminution of their Honour to be Prieſts to their Gods; *Baſſianus* and *Alexianus* (i. e. *Elagabalus*, and *Alexander Severus* his Brother) were both conſecrated Prieſts of the *Sun*, tho' both reputed the Sons of *Caracalla* the Emperor, and their Mother was undoubtedly the Empreſs *Julia's* Siſter, and themſelves Candidates of the Empire, (and, as of old, the Eldeſt of the Family

Ammian. Marcel. l.23. c.23.

Herodian. l. 5.

was both Prince and Prieſt; ſo *Herodian* affirms that *Baſſianus* was conſecrated to that Service, becauſe the Office peculiarly belong'd to the Eldeſt Brother:) *Ithobalus*, or *Ethbaal* the King of *Tyre*, was the Prieſt of *Aſtarte*, ſays *Theophilus*: And when *Pompey*, having ſubdued *Mithradates*, diſtributed Kingdoms among the great Men of *Aſia*, who had given him Aſſiſtance, he made *Archelaus* the Prieſt of *Venus*, in *Commagene*; which entitled him to a Principality and Authority not inferior to the Royal Dignity, ſays * *Appian*. And what extraordinary Influence *Sampſaigeramus* the Prieſt of the ſame Idol at *Emeſa* had upon that Country, hath been already demonſtrated.

*Ad Autolic. p. 257.

* *Bell. Mithrad. p. 251.*

How much addicted *Palmyra* was to *Venus*, who appointed Curators of her Fountain at *Nacle*, out of her moſt eminent Inhabitants, and what a glorious Temple was erected in that City to the *Sun*, ſo adorn'd and beautify'd, that *Aurelian* thought the Spoiles worthy his carrying to *Rome*, has been formerly mention'd; and though that victorious Prince, in the heat of Action, could not prohibit his Soldiers the plundering and defacing

defacing that noble Structure, he ſoon after took care, though the reſt of the City was left buried in its own Ruines, that the Temple ſhould be re-edified; for *Aurelian* had a particular Veneration for the *Sun* (whoſe Figure appears often on his Coins,) his Mother had been the Prieſteſs of *Apollo*, in the place where he was born; and when his Affairs at *Emeſa* (in his Engagement with *Zenobia*) were deſperate, 'tis pretended that his Foot were encouraged to ſupport his routed Horſe, by an extraordinary Perſon whom he knew not at that time; but when he return'd to *Emeſa*, and went into the Temple of *Elagabalus* to give Thanks for his Victory, he there met the ſame Figure which had appear'd to him; whereupon he founded a Temple in that City to the *Sun*, (a new Temple, without doubt; for the Temple of the *Sun* was famous at *Emeſa* before *Aurelian*'s time, for its Beauty and Magnificence, its extraordinary Riches, and the Quality of the Votaries who ſent their Offerings thither, the neighbouring Barbarous Princes every Year making their Preſents to *Elagabalus*,) and another at *Rome*,

Vopiſc. p. 219.

Id. *p.* 213, 217.

Herod. ubi ſup.

Zosim. l. 1. *p.* 56. *Rome*, upon which he bestow'd a vast Summ of Money, adorn'd it with the the Spoyles of the famous Temple at *Palmyra*, having at the same time offer'd his own unparallell'd Robe to the Deity.

In *Syria*, and the neighbouring Provinces, lived the Philosophers who kept up the Reputation of *Paganism*, when it was expos'd to the severest Prosecution of the Imperial Edicts: *Porphyry* was of *Tyre*; *Sopater* a *Syrian*; *Jamblicus* a Native of *Chalcis*; *Uranius* was of *Apamia*; *Eustathius* and *Ædesius*, *Cappadocians*; *Proclus* of *Lycia*; *Marinus* a *Samaritan* of the City of *Sichem*; *Damascius* of *Damascus*; *Simplicius* a *Cilician*; *Hermias* and *Diogenes*, *Phœnicians*; *Isidorus* of *Gaza*, &c. And whatever progress Christianity might have made in other Places, it is plain, from the Epistle of *Julian* to *Libanius*, that Heathenism defended its Possession in *Syria*; for when that unhappy Apostate Emperor made his Expedition into *Persia*, from *Berrhœa* to *Batnæ*, all the Countrey was full of Sacrifices; the smell of Incense had perfum'd the Air; and at *Hierapolis* he met

met with more than a few who had been Confeſſors, in the former Reigns, for the Ancient Rites. In *Malela*'s time, the *Aſſyrians* continued to worſhip *Mars*, or *Baal*; and whoever ſhall read *Damaſcius*'s Life of *Iſidorus*, may ſatisfie himſelf what Methods the Philoſophers of thoſe days uſed to ſupport the Intereſt of Polytheiſm, what Viſions they pretended to, what Magical Rites they uſed, and what Miracles were wrought in Confirmation of their Opinions; *Zoſimus* affirming, that in his time a Globe of Fire hover'd up and down in the Air, about the Temple of *Venus*, at *Aphaca*, the Place whither the Men of *Palmyra* ſent to learn their Fate, when *Aurelian* threaten'd them with Ruine, ſays that bigotted Advocate of Idolatry, who thus relates the Story; That when they having conſulted the Oracle at *Seleucia*, in *Cilicia*, had received from thence a melancholy Anſwer, they ſent to *Aphaca*, a Place ſituate between *Heliopolis* and *Byblus*, where the Temple of *Venus Aphacitis* ſtood: Near that Temple was a natural Fountain, that ſeem'd as if it had been made by Art; to this Fountain the People of that Countrey,

Country, at thoſe Set-Times, when they met there, brought their Offerings, either of Gold or Silver, Silks, or Linnen Cloaths, or whatever elſe was of Value: If *Venus* was pleaſed with the Oblation, the Garments that were offer'd ſunk to the bottom, as well as the heavy Metals; but if the Deity was diſpleas'd, all ſwom on the top of the Fountain; and that this Omen befel the Men of *Palmyra*, the Year when their City was deſtroyed. But the Oracular Fountain, that foretold the Ruine of *Palmyra*, could not ſecure it ſelf from a like fate in a few Years after, under *Conſtantine the Great*, which *Euſebius*, the Church Hiſtorian, thus relates; That the pious Emperor having been inform'd, that the pretext of Religion, was only a cover for notorious Debaucheries, reſolved to deſtroy all thoſe Places that were deſtin'd to the Gratifications of the Fleſh, particularly the famous Temple of *Venus* in *Phœnicia*: That on one part of the Mount *Libanus*, near the top of it, in *Aphaca*, a Grove and Temple had been conſecrated to *Venus*, not in the middle of a City, or in the High-way, where the Ambi-

Euſeb. Vit. Conſtant. l. 3. c. 55. & Orat. de laud. Conſtant.

Ambition of the Heathens prompted them, for the moſt part, to build their Temples, but in a retired Place, remote from all Towns, and publick Roads, where a School of Lewdneſs was erected, where effeminate Men proſtituted themſelves to unnatural Luſts, in honour of the *Dæmon*; and the Female Sex, laying aſide all regard to Modeſty and Religion, devoted themſelves to gratifie the irregular Deſires of all Pretenders, they living without Control or Obſervation; becauſe no vertuous Perſon durſt approach the Place; till that illuſtrious Prince commanded his Soldiers to demoliſh the Temple, and ſo put a period to thoſe abominable Practices, giving the Pagan Inhabitants truer Notions of Religion and Chaſtity: This, ſays *Euſebius*, was the Fate of that infamous Temple. But ſee the Malice and Diſingenuity of a zealous Heathen: *Zoſimus* affirms, that a miraculous Fire hover'd over the Place in his time. And *Damaſcius* tells ſtrange Stories of the ſame nature, in his days, of the Globes of Flame (the *Bætuli*) that frequently appear'd about Mount *Libanus*: That the Worſhip at *Aphaca* was in *Vit. Iſidor.*

in uſe before *Marcus Antoninus*'s Reign, the *Palmyrene* Inſcription demonſtrates: The Solemn Meetings there were Annual, the Practices moſt execrable, Luſt and Luxury making a great Figure in all their pretended Religious Ceremonies, eſpecially in that Country, *Lucian* himſelf avering, that at *Byblus*, a very little way from *Nacle*, the Women who refuſed to cut their Hair in the time of their ſolemn Mourning for the Death of *Adonis*, were obliged for a whole Day to proſtitute themſelves to all Strangers; and whatever they got, was to be ſpent in a Sacrifice to *Venus*.

Zoſim. ubi ſup.

De Syr. p. 658. & ult.

Aphaca was the Name of the Place, ſays *Zoſimus* (Ἄφακα χωρίον.) and *Euſebius* ſeems to be of the ſame Opinion (there being many Cities of that Denomination in *Syria*, one belonging to the Tribe of *Juda*, another to the Tribe of *Aſher*, a third in the Coaſts of the *Amorites*, a fourth a City of *Syria*;) but others, with greater probability, that the Name of the City was *Nacle*, (and of the Well *Aphaca*;) ſo ſays *Suidas* expreſly, upon the Authority of *Chriſtodorus*, who wrote the Hiſtory of *Nacle*, or *Naclis*, (a Book which,

Euſeb. de loc. Hebr.

V. Χριστόδωρος & V. Νάκλη.

which, if extant, would have much illustrated this part of our History) that it stood near *Heliopolis*, and that the Rites called Ἄφακα (not Ἄλφακα, as it is in the printed Copy) were there performed. What is meant by Ἄφακα, the Lexicographer informs, that it is a *Syriack* word, (in the *Arabick* it signifies *Præputium*, or *Vinculum*,) and that if it be fit to render such a word into *Greek*, it signifies (*a*) *Embraces*, *Venus* in that place embracing her Darling *Adonis*; and probably *Nacle* has a like signification.

Etymol. M. V. Ἄφακα.

[(*a*) Σύρων μέν ὄστιν ἡ λέξις. δυνάται δὲ καθ' Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν, εἰ δεῖ τὸ δημῶδες εἰπεῖν ῥῆμα, πρίλημμα, πριλαβέσης τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἐκεῖ τὸν Ἄδωνιν, ἢ τὴν πρώτην, ἢ τὴν ἐσχάτην περιβολήν· Hence probably in *Hesychius*, Ἄφακες Εὔηθες, & Νάκολον Ἀκάθαρτον.]

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

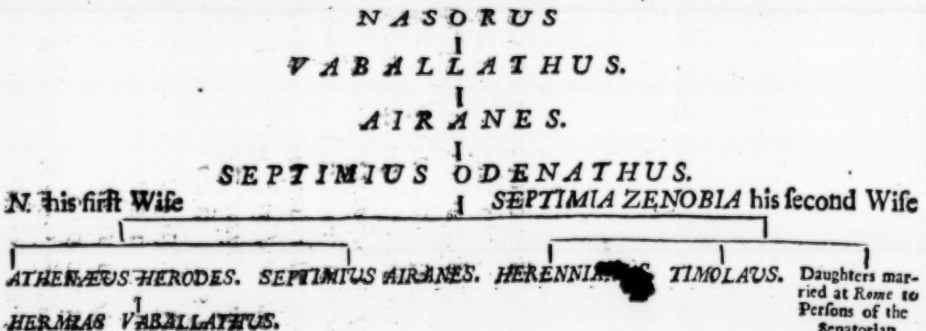
An Account of Vaballathus.

HAving, in the foregoing Hiſtory, averr'd, that *Vaballathus* was not the Son of *Odenathus*, as the generality of Writers have atteſted; but the Grandſon of that heroick Prince, as Monſieur *Triſtan* and F. *Harduin* have affirm'd; I think my ſelf obliged to give my Reaſons for my Opinion; the *Roman* and *Greek* Hiſtorians of thoſe times being either wholly ignorant of him, as, I think, *Trebellius Pollio*, *Zoſimus*, and others were; or miſtaken in his Pedigree, as *Vopiſcus*, who is the only Author who mentions him, ſeems to be.

Tranſp. 88. That *Odenathus* had Grandſons before he aſſum'd the Purple, appears to me very plain from the *Palmyrene* Inſcription, where *Septimius Odenathus* (the ſame, I believe, with the Emperor of that Name) at that time a Man of the illuſtrious Senatorian Order and Dignity,

nity, built a Monument for himſelf, his Sons, and Nephews, or Grandſons, (αὐτῷ τε, καὶ υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὑωνοῖς.) That thoſe Nephews could not be the Offſpring of *Herennianus* and *Timolaus*, the Sons of *Zenobia*, is to me undoubted; becauſe at their Father's Death they were very young, ſays the *Roman* Hiſtorian, (*Zenobia, quòd parvuli eſſent filii ejus, qui ſupererant, Herennianus & Timolaus, ipſa ſuſcepit imperium,*) and therefore may be ſuppoſed the Sons of *Herodes*, or *Herodianus*, whom *Odenathus* begat on a former Wife; and for theſe Reaſons, and by the help of the Inſcriptions, I am enclined to deduce the Line of that Family after the following manner: *Trebel. Pol. p.* 180.

T *NASO*


NASORUS
VABALLATHUS.
AIRANES.
SEPTIMIUS ODENATHUS.
N. his first Wife
SEPTIMIA ZENOBIA his second Wife
ATHENÆUS HERODES.
SEPTIMIUS AIRANES.
HERENNIA[illegible]S
TIMOLAUS.
HERMIAS VABALLATHUS.
Daughters married at Rome to Persons of the Senatorian Dignity.
Their Children at Rome, A. C. 400.

I have

I have been encouraged to believe that *Odenathus* in the Inſcriptions was the ſame Perſon with the Emperor of that Name, from his præ-Nomen *Septimius*, which cannot juſtly be preſumed to have been uſed in the Eaſt, before the Firſt Emperor of that Name made his Inroads into *Perſia*. Now *Septimius Severus* died, *Anno Chriſti* 211, before which time *Odenathus* may well preſumed to have been born, being murthered *Ann. Chr.* 267. and I have given him a ſecond Son, from the Authority of the Inſcriptions, where *Septimius Airanes*, a Man of the Conſular Dignity, is ſaid to have been the Son of *Odenathus*, the Date of the Inſcription confirming it, *viz. A. C.* 253. I have alſo adventured upon adjuſting the Pedigree of his Anceſtors, from the ſame Inſcription, where *Septimius* is ſaid to be the Son of *Airanes*, the Grandſon of *Vaballathus*, the Great-Grandſon of *Naſorus* (according to the Method of the *Arabs*, who uſually reckon'd their Deſcent after that manner;) for I cannot think *Airanes* to be the præ-Nomen of *Vaballathus*, ſince all their fore-Names were either *Roman*

Pag. 99.

Pag. 88.

or *Greek*, to neither of which Languages *Airanes* belongs. I have alſo ſubſcribed to the Opinion of *Triſtan* and *Harduin*, that *Vaballathus* was the Son of *Herodes*; not only becauſe *Herodes* is in the Coins repreſented with a Beard, which implies ſome Years beyond Youth, while *Vaballathus* has a very young Face, but becauſe the Coins declare him to have continued Emperor, after *Zenobia* was conquer'd; and I am ſo far from thinking that his Mother-in-Law held the Empire in his Name, that I believe ſhe proſecuted him, as ſhe did his Father, that ſhe might enthrone her own Children; the Subject, it muſt be confeſt, is much in the dark, and for want of Directions from the Antients, it is eaſie to be miſtaken, but the luckieſt Conjecturer in ſuch Caſes is the beſt Critick. It is plain from the Hiſtorians, that there were violent Conteſts between *Herod* and *Zenobia*, while *Odenathus* was alive (as it ſeldom happens that Mothers-in-Law look over-favourably on their Predeceſſor's Children) but that thoſe Diſputes ſerv'd only to advance the Son in his Father's Favour, who had declar'd him his Co-

v. Triſtan. Tom. 3. p. 208, &c.

partner

partner (a little while after himſelf had been made Emperor) and conſequently his Succeſſor; and accordingly the Coins mention the third Year of his Reign, whereas *Odenathus* wore the Purple but four Years, being then murthered, and with him his Son *Herod.* Upon whoſe Death, I doubt not, but *Vaballathus* immediately aſſum'd the Imperial Title and Dignity, as in right he ought, and probably was confirm'd in his Pretenſions by *Claudius* and *Aurelian*, (otherwiſe his Name and Titles could never have appear'd on the reverſe of the Coins of *Aurelian*; for neither *Zenobia's* nor either of her Son's Name is found on any of the Imperial Coins of the *Romans*, becauſe in open Hoſtility with them; which confirms me, that *Vaballathus* was not the Son of that great Queen,) his Fourth Year being coincident with the Firſt, his Fifth with the Second of *Aurelian*, (which unqueſtionably proves him to have been Declared *Auguſtus*, as ſoon as his Father was dead;) but being convinced that *Zenobia* had made the Army firm to her Intereſts, and declar'd her own Sons Emperors, he fled to the *Romans* for

Protection, who being well assured of the Justice of his Title (his Grandfather *Odenathus* having been declar'd Emperor at *Rome*, whose right Heir *Vaballathus* was, whereas *Zenobia* had no such Pretensions) treated him with that Respect which those great Princes used to pay to distressed Monarchs; and I doubt not, but in Gratitude to his Patrons, he assisted *Aurelian*, not only with the Equity of his Cause, but with what Forces he could bring into the Field. In the Sixth Year of his Reign, he had the Satisfaction to see his Competitors conquer'd, and led Captive to *Rome*; and the Coins tell us, that he bore the Title of *Emperor* in the Fourth Year of *Aurelian*, which was the Seventh of *Vaballathus*, (ΑΥΤ. Κ. ΟΥΑΒΑΛΛΑΘΟΣ CΕΒ L.Z) which was the Year after *Palmyra* was ruin'd. From whence it plainly appears to me, that he was a Confederate of the *Romans* in that War, his Effigies and Titles being stampt on the reverse of *Aurelian*'s Coins, that very Year that he undertook his Expedition into the East, as well as the Year after *Zenobia* was subdued; for that was a Privilege

Goltz. Thesaur. p. 73.

vilege never granted but to thoſe Princes who were in League with, and had done good Service to the *Roman* Commonwealth. So *Rhemetalces* King of *Thrace* is joyn'd with *Auguſtus*, and *Abgarus* the Toparch of *Edeſſa* with *Marcus Aurelius*, to demonſtrate their being in the Intereſts of thoſe Princes, but with ſome diſtinction in the Habit of the Head, or Crown, to denote their Subjection; for when *Vaballathus* wears a Wreath or Diadem, then *Aurelian* wears a Crown of *Lawrel*; but when *Vaballathus* wears a Crown of Lawrel, *Aurelian* wears a Crown radiated, or, as the Heralds call it, *rayoneé*.

How long *Vaballathus* lived after the Eighth Year of his Reign, or what his Fate was, I know not; but I am enclined to believe that he ſunk by degrees in the Favour of *Aurelian*, and being deprived of the Imperial Dignity, was forced to content himſelf with the meaner Title of King, or Viceroy, and that this happen'd in the two laſt Years of that Emperor; for to that Year I refer thoſe Coins, wherein he is ſtyled

V. Fulv. Urſin. Not. ad Vopiſc. Aurel. Mezzob. p. 407. Patin. Jud. ſ. 29.

VABALATHVS REX. — VABALLATHVS REX VCRIM. P. P. — VCRIMOR — VCRIMP — VCRIMDR. — VERIMP. — VABALATVS ITER. IMP. R. —— all which are Latin, and conſequently ſeem to be coin'd, not in the Eaſt, but ſomewhere nearer *Rome*, but all in the Reign of *Aurelian*; and from them I conjecture that *Aurelian*, after he had ſetled his Authority in *Syria*, deſtroy'd *Palmyra*, and put an end to the Pretenſions of the Family of *Odenathus*, oblig'd *Vaballathus* to decline the Title of Emperor, and to uſe that of the Imperial Vicegerent in the Eaſt; and that this is implyed in the Coins, where he is ſaid to be *VCRIMOR* (wrongly in others *VCRIMDR*, or *VCRIMP*) not *Vice Cæſaris Rector Imperii Orientalis*, as F. *Harduin* very ingeniouſly (becauſe in *Aurelian*'s Age, and long before, *Cæſar* was a Title of Honour inferior to that of *Imperator*, *Ælius Verus* being the firſt who was declar'd *Cæſar*, but never was *Emperor*, the Title at that time, and in future Ages, being appropriated to the Heir Apparent of the Empire;

Spart. p. 35. Capitolin. p. 24.

ſo

ſo that it ſhould have been *Vice Imperatoris*, as *Nemeſius* is ſtyled in * *Gruter*,) but *Vir Clariſſimus Rector Imperii Orientalis*; for ſo the Governors of Provinces were ſtyled, in the Language of the *Law*, and in the old *Inſcriptions*, *Fabius Maximus V. C. Rect. Prov.* &c. This Province *Vaballathus* managed more than once, being ſaid to be *ITER. IMP. R.* i. e. *iterum Imperii Rector*, a ſecond time the Emperor's Vicegerent in the Eaſt; for ſuch were the Toparchs of that Country (the Name demonſtrates it, *Toparcha* is *Vicemgerens*,) which was in ſome Ages fill'd with thoſe Roytelets: Such alſo were *Phylarchs* of the *Arabians*, who held their Dignity at the pleaſure of either the *Romans* or *Perſians*, to whom they were ſubject. (Thus *Agrippa*, upon his Father's Death, was made Prince of *Chalcis*; but when he had continued in that Government four Years, was diſplaced by *Claudius*, but made Tetrarch of *Iturea*, *Batanæa*, *Trachonitis*, and *Abilene*, to which the ſame Emperor afterwards added a part of *Galilee*.) But though their Territory was ſmall, their Ambition commonly was very great,

* Clxviii. 4.

Grut. CL. 9.

Joſeph. Antiq. l. 20. c. 3, 5.

great, and the Titles which they affected very pompous, witneſs a Coin of *Antiochus* the Fourth, one of the little Princes of *Sebaſte*, a corner of *Cilicia* erected into a Kingdom by *Veſpaſian*, ſays * *Joſephus*, who ſtyles himſelf Βασιλ. μεγ. Βασιλεὺς μέγας, *the great King*; and another of *Abgarus* on the reverſe of *Severus*, with the ſame Title; it being very likely that *Vaballathus*, prompted by the like Vanity, ſtyled himſelf *Vaballathus Rex Ucrim. P. P. Vaballathus* the King, and the Father of his Country, (as in a Latin Coin of *Zenobia*, whom *Theodorit*, who was of *Cyrrheſtica*, a Province not far from *Palmyrene*, calls the Toparch of *Palmyra*; ſhe is ſaid to be Queen or Governeſs of all the Eaſt; *Zenobia Aug. totius Orientis R.* i. e. *Reſtrix*, or *Regina*, as ſhe ſtyles her ſelf in her Letter to *Aurelian*;) unleſs this Inſcription intimates to us another change in his Fortune and Tenure, that he was conſtituted the Prince of that part of *Cyrrheſtica*, whoſe chief City was *Urima* (in the Coins, by miſtake, *Ucrima*, and *Verima*) ſituate on the *Euphrates*, between *Samoſata* and *Edeſſa*, near the

V. *Harduin. Num.* p. 587.

* *Ant. l.* 18. *c.* 7.

the Mid-way, and an Epiſcopal See.

Againſt this Opinion, that *Vaballathus* was the Grandſon of *Odenathus*, the learned *Spanheim* muſters all his Forces, and blames Monſieur *Triſtan* for indulging too much to his own Wit and Conjectures, while *Vopiſcus* ſays expreſly that *Vaballathus* was *Zenobia's* Son, (*If. Caſaubon's* Notion, that it was only a fictitious Name, through miſtake of the *Greeks*, who underſtood not the *Syrian* Language, needs no further Confutation;) for which Opinion alſo *Salmaſius* contends earneſtly, the Credit of *Vopiſcus* ſupporting it. But it is plain, that *Vopiſcus* was deceived in that Paragraph, when he ſays, 'That *Zenobia* 'did not hold the Empire in the Name 'of *Herennianus* and *Timolaus*, but of 'her Son *Vaballathus*. —— expreſly againſt the Aſſertion of *Trebellius Pollio*, who affirms the contrary; and of * *Vopiſcus* himſelf, in another place, 'That '*Zenobia* held the Empire of the Eaſt '(*Nomine Filiorum*) in the Name of 'her Sons. —— And that the Coins are an unqueſtionable Confirmation of this Truth, *Spanheim* himſelf confeſſes, in which the ſecond and third Years of their

Diſſert. 7. *de Uſu & Pr Numiſm.* P. 597. *&c.*

Not. in Vopiſc. P. 380.

30 *Tyr.* P. 198.

* P. 216.

their Empire is recorded; and therefore (if any Manuſcript would give countenance to the addition) I ſhould think, with *Triſtan*, that the word (*Herodis*) is left out, and that it ſhould be read *Vaballathi Herodis Filii*; or probably *Vopiſcus* might miſtake his Author, (for * he confeſſes, that he took all his Notices out of the Greek Writers,) and through haſte, read ὑοῦ for ὑωνοῦ, and ſo tranſlate *Filii* for *Nepotis*. But the placing the Head of *Vaballathus* on the reverſe of *Aurelian*'s Coins, is to me an unqueſtionable Evidence that he was not *Zenobia's* Son; for I believe there cannot be one Inſtance produced of any Emperor who gave ſuch an Allowance, but to a Friend and Confederate; whereas *Zenobia* and her Sons were always in profeſt Enmity, and open War with the *Romans*, and the *Romans* with them, who were very eager, all through the Reign of *Claudius*, to have that haughty Queen ſubdued, and the Empire wreſted out of her Hands. Nor will the Years of his Reign agree with this Opinion (if *Vaballathus* were carry'd a Priſoner to *Rome* with *Zenobia*, and *Zenobia* did not

* P. 209.

not reign above five or ſix Years;) for thoſe in *Goltzius* mention the Seventh Year of his Reign; one of which was ſtampt at *Troas*, implying, that that City declar'd for his Intereſts, in the fifth Year of his Empire, the Year in which *Aurelian* went to the Eaſt; and the Figure of *Hope* on the reverſe of one of his Latin Coins, implies his Expectation to be reſtored by that puiſſant Prince, who had been ſo long kept out of his Right by his Mother-in-Law.

Mauroceni theſ. c.13. p. 143.

But *Spanheim* enforces his Opinion with a ſecond Argument, That *Herod's* Name doth not appear in any of the Coins of *Vaballathus*, nor is there any Proof that *Herod* was ever call'd *Athenas*, or *Athenæus*. To which I anſwer in general, That it was the Cuſtom of that Age and Country to have Two Names, the one Latin or Greek, the other Syriack, as *Septimius Odenathus*, *Hermias Vaballathus*; ſo that it is not improbable, that *Herod* was call'd *Athenæus*, (*Athenas*, *Athenæus*, *Athenodorus*, from *Athene*, i. e. *Minerva*, as *Hermias* from *Hermes*, or *Mercury*.) I once thought, that Ἀθήνα, by the tranſpoſing

transposing the Letters (done by the Greek *Monetarii*, ignorant of Syriack) was put for Ἠνάθȣ, (by which Name *Malela*, the Syrian Writer, always calls *Odenathus*;) but from one of the Coins in *Goltzius*, Οὐαβάλλαθος Ἀθήν. Ου - - - - I am enclinable to read it, Οὐαβάλλαθος Ἀθηναίȣ Οὐορώδȣ, *Herodes* and *Orodes* being the same Name, and always so written in the Inscriptions. But of this Conjecture I must leave those Persons to be Judges, who have seen those rare Coins, while I profess I was never so happy.

Thesaur. p. 73.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

An Account of Longinus.

HAving accounted, as well as I could, for *Vaballathus*, I ſhall eaſily be pardoned by all the Lovers of Learning, if out of a due Reverence to the Memory of *Longinus*, I endeavour to adjuſt the Particulars of the Life of that admirable Man.

Who his Father was, we know not, it having been the fate of many other excellent Perſons, that the World hath been left ignorant of their Parents, or the Place of their Nativity; but his Mother's Name was *Frontonis*, the Siſter of the famous *Fronto* (Nephew probably to the great *Plutarch*) by Birth of the City of *Emeſa*, by Profeſſion an Orator, who having, in the Reign of the Emperor *Severus*, fix'd his Reſidence at *Athens*, became a Competitor for Glory in his publick Exerciſes with *Philoſtratus* the Elder, and *Apſines* of *Gadara*, and died at *Athens*, leaving his Nephew *Longinus* the Critick his Heir. *Suid.* Φρόντων

Heir. Whether *Longinus* was born at *Palmyra*, as the Editor of his Book of the *Sublime* Conjectures, I know not; though it be not altogether improbable that his Mother, who was of *Emeſa*, might marry at *Palmyra*, a City not far from it; though *Tanaquil Faber*, in his Edition of that excellent Treatiſe, from that Paſſage of *Vopiſcus* in the Life of *Aurelian*, (" That *Longinus* " dictated the haughty Epiſtle of *Ze-* " *nobia* to the Emperor *Aurelian*, tho' " it were written in Syriack —) would conclude, that *Longinus* was not born in *Syria*; and that thoſe who determin that that Country was the Place of his Nativity, are confuted by *Vopiſcus*.

Pag. 219.

He is uſually called *Dionyſius Longinus*, but for what reaſon, or from what Manuſcripts, I know not; *Suidas* expreſly calling him *Caſſius*, though I rather think it ſhould be *Caſimus*, as it is in the old *Milan* Edition of that Lexicographer, when he reckons up the Authors out of whom he compiled his Work (Λογγῖνος ὁ Κάσιμος) *Caſimus*, *Abul Caſimus*, and *Al-Caſem*, being Arabick Names, that commonly occur in the Saracenick Hiſtory.

In

In his younger days he travell'd into many Countries to improve his Studies, (his Parents giving themſelves the Satisfaction to travel with him, and to obſerve his Proficiency,) where he contracted an Acquaintance with the moſt learned Men of all Nations, who were the Ornaments of that Age, with *Euclides*, *Democritus*, and *Proclinus* of *Troas*, the *Platoniſts*; with *Plotinus*, and *Gentilianus Amelius*, of the ſame Sect at *Rome*; with *Ammonius* and *Origen*, under whoſe Tuition he was a long time (probably at *Alexandria*, where alſo he acquir'd the Acquaintance of *Heliodorus* the *Peripatetick*;) with *Theodotus* and *Eubulus*, who kept up the *Platonick* Succeſſion at *Athens*; with *Themiſtocles* and *Phebion*, the *Stoicks*; with *Annius* and *Medius*, with *Herminus* and *Lyſimachus*, with *Athenæus* and *Muſonius*, of the ſame School at *Athens*; as alſo with *Ptolemy*, and another *Ammonius*, the *Peripateticks*. *Ep. Longini apud Porph. Vit. Plot.*

Having thus gratify'd his Curioſity in his Travels, and furniſht his Mind with the uſeful Learning of the Age, he fix'd at *Athens*, probably under the Tuition of his Uncle *Fronto*, who enga-

ged him in the Study of *Philology*, where he ſoon diſcover'd his excellent Genius, and was reputed the moſt famous Critick of his time, his Judgment of Authors being ſo much valued, that it became the Standard of that learned Age; and every Book was either approv'd or condemn'd, as *Longinus* pronounc'd its fate. At *Athens*, I conjecture, he wrote his admirable accurate Treatiſe of the *Sublime*, upon the Importunity of his Friend *Poſthumius Terentianus* (or, as *Sect.* 10. ſome other Copies read it, *Florentianus*) to whom he dedicates it; for, ſpeaking of the moſt celebrated Orator, he calls him, *our Demoſthenes*, and reckons himſelf among the *Greeks*. At *Athens*, *Eunap. Vit. Porphyrii.* *Porphyry* became his Scholar, a Privilege much valued in that Age; for *Longinus* was reputed a living Library, his Province engaging him to conſider and cenſure the Writings of the Antients. And there *Longinus* changed his Syrian Name *Malchus* into that of *Porphyrius* (as *Amelius*, upon the ſame diſlike, call'd him *Baſileus*) training him up in the Niceties of Grammar, and Rhetorick, and accompliſhing his Juvenile Studies; and *Porphyry*, who himſelf was an

an excellent Critick, calls him in gratitude (ἐν κρίσει πρῶτος ἀνὴρ, κριτικώτατος) the Prince of the Criticks, and the beſt Philologer of his Age: For if any Man had adventured to correct an ancient Writer, his Opinion never found Approbation, till it was confirm'd by the judicious *Longinus*. Nor was his whole time ſpent in Criticiſm; tho' *Plotinus*, toucht with a little Envy, for they did not agree in all their Sentiments, ſaid he was a good Philologer, but not a Philoſopher; for he profeſt himſelf a *Platoniſt*, and, as ſuch, celebrated the Feſtival of *Plato* (probably his Birth-day) at *Athens*, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times, with great Solemnity, and gave himſelf up to that Allegorical way of Writing to which that Sect of Philoſophers indulged; for from him, and *Numenius*, as well as from the Books of *Plato*, *Origen* learn'd his method of Allegorizing the Holy * Scriptures. How long he fill'd the *Platonick* Chair at *Athens*, or who ſucceeded him, I know not; as alſo, whether he ever lived at *Magneſia ad Sipylum*, or not, and were the *Prætor* of that City, Succeſſor, perhaps, to his

Porphyr. apud Euſeb. Prepar. l. 10.

Porph. Vit. Plotini.

* *Porphyr. apud Euſeb. H. E. l. 6, c. 19.*

Uncle *Fronto* in that Office; since I find in the Coins of *Valerian*, Ἐπὶ στρ. Αὐρ. Φρόντωνος Μαξιντῶν Σι. h. e. Σιπυλιτῶν (another *Aurelius Fronto* was *Prætor* of *Byzantium*, under *Alexander Severus*;) and in another of *Gallienus*, Στρατ. Λογείνε β'. Μαξιντῶν Σιπυ. Nor can I fix the Year when he retired into *Syria*, and setled himself at *Palmyra*, where his Learning and Wisdom rendred him very illustrious, and capacitated him to assist *Zenobia* with his Counsels, till his death, and to educate her Sons in all good Literature. But though he gave himself to the Study and Practice of the Rules of Government, while he lived at *Palmyra*, as became a Privy-Counsellor to a great Queen, and there probably writ his Book of *Tactick*s, for the use of that warlike Empress; yet he was far from deserting his other beloved Muses, but made diligent Enquiries after the Writings of all the learned Men of that Age, especially of *Plotinus*. The Country where he was, lay remote from the known Seats of polite Learning; the People, in an active and contentious Age, were more addicted to Arms than Arts: And the Language

V. *Hard. Nummi.*

V. *Gesn. Biblioth.*

Porph. ubi sup.

Language of *Palmyrene* was ſo very different from the uſual learned Tongues, that he look'd about him a long time, till he could find a Copyiſt that underſtood ſo much Greek, as to enable him to tranſlate the Works of *Plotinus*; but having found a fit Man, he confin'd him to that Province, as himſelf relates in his Epiſtle to *Porphyry*: Such a Value did he put on the Works of that profound *Platoniſt*, tho' he did not agree entirely with him, and took an occaſion to write againſt him and *Amelius*, expreſſing at the ſame time a deep Veneration for them both. He encouraged *Amelius* to viſit the *Eaſt*, and of him purchaſed all *Plotinus*'s Works: And having heard that *Porphyry*, by his Abſtinence, and other Severities, had impair'd his Conſtitution, he invited him alſo very earneſtly to come to *Palmyra*, aſſuring him that that Air would repair his ruin'd Health, and kept up his Correſpondence with his old Friends to the day of his death: And there alſo he wrote his *Panegyrick* upon *Odenathus* (probably upon the Death of that heroick Emperor) which *Libanius* was ſo fond of; but whether

he compoſed any of thoſe Books at *Palmyra*, either in Critick (for he cenſured both Poets and Orators) or Philoſophy, the loſs of which the learned World bewails, is uncertain: This we know, that that haughty Epiſtle which *Zenobia* ſent to *Aurelian*, when he required her to reſign her Authority, was ſaid to be dictated by this great Man, the Reſentment of which gave occaſion to his death; for that ſevere and proud Emperor hated any thing that ſeemed to check his Power, or ruffle his ambitious Thoughts.

So fell the admirable *Longinus*, to the grief of all good Men, who bemoan his fate, and the loſs of his excellent Writings, moſt of which, in all likelyhood, periſht when *Palmyra* was deſtroy'd. I had ſome Intentions to have ſubjoyn'd an Account of his Works, but I ſuperſede that Diſquiſition, as foreign to my preſent Deſign, till ſome other Occaſion offers.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

A ſhort Commentary on the Inſcriptions.

I Have digeſted the *Inſcriptions*, not as they are ſet down in the *Journal*, where they are placed as they incidentally fell under the Traveller's Eye, but under their ſeveral Heads, to which they ſeem reduceable. And firſt I begin with the *Sepulchral* Inſcriptions, the Epitaphs inſcribed upon the Tombs of the People of *Palmyra*.

I.

Τὸ μνημεῖον τοῦ ταφεῶνος ἔκτισεν ἐξ ἰδίων Σεπτίμιος Ὀδαίναθος ὁ λαμπρότατος συγκλητ[ικος] Αἰράνου Οὐαβαλλάθου τοῦ Νασώρου αὐτῷ τε καὶ υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ υἱωνοῖς εἰς τὸ πάντελες αἰώνιον τειμήν.

Which may be thus rendred :

Monumentum ſepulchrale propriis ſumptibus condidit Septimius Odenathus eminentiſſimus Senator, Æranis filius, Va-

ballathi nepos, Naſori pronepos, & ſibi, & filiis ſuis. & nepotibus in perpetuum, in honorem ſempiternum.

This Inſcription contains an Account, "That *Septimius Odenathus*, the moſt "excellent Senator, had erected that "Monument for himſelf and his Poſte-"rity, to preſerve their Name for ever. And he hath hitherto had his Wiſh, the Monument having eſcap'd the Fury of Time, the Rage of the *Roman* Soldiers, and the Madneſs of the ſuperſtitious *Arabs*, who are profeſt Enemies to all the remains of venerable Antiquity. That this *Septimius Odenathus* was the ſame illuſtrious Perſon who afterward was declar'd Emperor, I ſuppoſe,* I have already prov'd to be very probable.

* P. 273.

Ταφεὼν occurs not in the Lexicon, but ſignifies a Place of Burial. The Place is the Sepulchre, the *Epigraphe* the Monument, ſays †*Servius*; *Operis extructio ſepulchrum, nomen inſcriptum monimentum*; but a *Mauſolæum* contain'd many Sepulchres, as one Sepulchre might include many Monuments; the Tomb being built very often (as our Vaults) for the ſervice of the

† *In* 3 *Æneid.*

the whole Family, as this of *Odenathus* was erected for himſelf, his Sons and Nephews; others, for the Owner, his Children and Servants, *&c.* whereas whoſoever laid violent Hands on himſelf, was to be buried alone, and without an Inſcription: The ſhorter the Epitaph, the more honourable it was accounted, ſo it contained the Atchievements of the Perſon there depoſited, it was not to exceed four Heroical Verſes, ſays *Plato*, (μὴ πλείω πενταέρων ἡρωϊκῶν ςίχων·) and of this kind (*i. e.* very ſhort) are the *Palmyrene* Inſcriptions. But the Men of *Sicyon* choſe a much ſhorter Method, inſcribing only the Name of the Dead Perſon (not mentioning ſo much as his Father's Name) and wiſhing him Joy; while the *Palmyrenians* inſerted their Pedigree to four or five Generations paſt. By ſuch Monuments the Antients thought to perpetuate their Memory to Eternity, and for this reaſon the Grave is commonly called *Domus Æterna*, *Domus Perpetua*, *Domus Æternalis*, and *Sepulchri Perpetui Honor*; and what is in this Inſcription ſaid to be done εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἀΐδιον τιμὴν, is in another Monu-

Plato, l. 9. de Legib.

Pauſan. l. 2.

v. *Gruter. paſſim.*

Monument ſaid to be, μνημεῖον αἰώνιον γένους. And with their own Names they inſerted thoſe of their Progenitors, that they alſo might be enrolled in the Annals of Honour. And they often took care to inſcribe the Epitaph in ſeveral Languages, that other Nations might be thereby inſtructed in the Name and Vertues of the Dead, (and perhaps, that they might preſerve ſome remains of their native Language likely to be ſupplanted and forgotten.) Thus, when *Philip* had ſlain the Emperor *Gordian*, the Army buried him at *Circeia Caſtra* (or *Circeſium*) in the Confines of *Perſia*, and wrote his Epitaph in Greek and Latin, in the Perſic, Jewiſh, and Egyptian Languages, that all Nations might underſtand it, *To the Deify'd* Gordianus, *the Conqueror of the* Perſians, *the* Goths *and* Sarmatians, *the Arbiter of the* Roman *Seditions*, *the Conqueror of the* Germans ; *but not the Conqueror of the* Philippi, for they murder'd him.

Capitol. Gordian. 3. p. 165.

2.

The Second Inſcription contains an Epitaph which *Soræchus* erected to his Wife

Wife *Martha*, *Ann. Christi* 178. in the $1\frac{8}{9}$ of *Marcus Antoninus* the Emperor :

* Μάρθειν Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸ Καπαδήτου Οὐαβαλλάθου τοῦ Σύμωνος Σόραιχος Αἰράνου ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς μνήμης ἕνεκεν μήνει Δύστρῳ τοῦ ϟΥ ἔτους.

* l. Μαρθιν.

And may thus be rendred :

In memoriam Marthæ Alexandri Capadeti filiæ, Vaballathi Neptis, Symonis proneptis Soræchus Æranis filius, maritus illius posuit mense Martio, A. D. 490.

3.

The Third is of the same nature, appropriated by *Malchus* to himself and his Children, tho' built by his Ancestors:

Το μνημεῖον ἔκτισαν † Ἐλαβῆλες, Μανναῖος Σοχαεὶς. Μαλχος Οὐαβαλλάθου τοῦ Μανναίου τοῦ Ἐλαβήλου αὐτῷ τε καὶ υἱοῖς ἔτους ΔΙΥ μηνὸς Ξανδικοῦ.

† l. Ἐλαβῆλος.

Hoc Monumentum condiderunt Elabelus, Mannæus, Sochaeis. Malchus verò Vaballathi filius, Mannei nepos, Elabeli pronepos

pronepos ſibi, & filiis poſuit, anno 414. *menſe Aprili.*

It is plain, that in this Inſcription there is a miſtake in the firſt line, of Ἐλαβῆλες for Ἐλαβηλᾶ, and a greater in Grammar, if *Elabelus*, *Mannæus*, and *Sochaeis*, be taken for the ſame Man; I have therefore render'd it literally from the Greek, and have reaſon to think that there is another miſtake in the Name Σοχαεὶς, for if *Malchus* were the Grandſon of *Mannæus*, the Great Grandſon of *Elebelus*, as the Inſcription demonſtrates, then *Sochaeis* and *Vaballathus* muſt be the ſame Perſon, for he is expreſly called the Son of *Vaballathus*; nor is it unpardonable to imagine, that Inſcriptions ſet up by *Syrians*, who cannot be preſum'd exact Maſters of Greek, and tranſcribed in ſome haſte, might be ſubject to miſtakes, many ſuch (whether of the Graver or Copyiſt, I cannot determine) frequently occurring to the diligent Reader; and therefore I believe that Σοχαεὶς ſhould be chang'd into Βαλλαθᾶ, or Βολαθᾶ. (ΣΟΧΑΕΙΣ ΒΟΛΑΛΑΘΟΣ) the ſame Name with *Vabal-*

Vaballathus, by which Alteration the whole Inſcription is very intelligible Sence, and Grammar.

4.

Μνημεῖον αἰώνιον ἥρας ᾠκοδόμησεν
ΓίχΘ. Μοκίμε τῦ Καϊλκιαλόϊσε τῦ
*Μα ... ου εἰς τε ἑαυτὸν, καὶ υἱὸς, καὶ ἐκγόνες ἕτες ΔΙΤ μήνει Ξανδικῷ. * l. Μαννάϊ.

Thus rendred:

Monumentum in ſempiternum honorem ædificavit Gichus Mocimi filius, Cælcialciſi nepos, Mannæi pronepos in ſui, & natorum, & poſterorum ſepulturam, anno 314, *menſe Aprili, i. e. Chr.* 2°.

I very much doubt, that more than one fault occurs in the Names of the Perſons, (and perhaps for Καϊλκιαλόϊσε, we may read τῦ καὶ ἀλαόϊσε' *al* is a common prefix; and *Aſiſus*, or *Aziſus*, a Syrian Name. *Joſephus* mentions *Azizus* a Roytelet of *Emeſa*; it was alſo the Name of their God *Mercury*;) and if ſo, it muſt be render'd, *Mocimi, qui & Azizus, filius, Mannæi nepos.* But I dare not vouch for the Emendation;

tion; whatever therefore may become of that Conjecture, it is certain, that there is a miſtake in the Date, and that for ΔΙΤ we ought to read ΔΙϒ. (ϒ and Τ are letters eaſily confounded,) becauſe in the Inſcription, C for Σ, and ω for Ω, and ϵ for Ε are uſed, all which never appear in any genuine Coin, or Marble, till *Domitian*'s time, as the Criticks agree.) This Inſcription therefore is of the ſame Year with the precedent, the Monument being ſet up, *Ann. Chr.* 102, the Fourth of the Emperor *Trajan*: And theſe two are the moſt ancient Inſcriptions at *Tadmur*. I have rendred αἰώνιον γέρας by *honos ſempiternus*, upon the Authority of *Heſychius*, γέρας, τιμὴ, σέβας, ἆθλον ἀρετῆς.

5.

From the Inſcriptions of the *Sepulchres*, I proceed to conſider their publick Monuments, erected by the Order of the Senate and People of the Commonweal[illegible] of *Tadmur*, to the Honour of ſuch of their Citizens who had deſerv'd well of the Republick. The firſt

firſt that occurs, relates to *Alilamenes*, or rather *Alcamenes*.

Ἡ βυλὴ κ᾽ ὁ δῆμος Ἀλιλάμενα Πανίυ Μοκίμυ τῦ Αἰραίνυ, τῦ Μάτθα, κ᾽ Αἰραίνιω τ᾽ πατέρα αὐτῦ δ᾽σεβεῖς κ᾽ φιλοπαλείδας κ[αι]παντὶ τρόπῳ [εὐ]σεί-μως ἀρέσαντας τῇ παλείδι, κ᾽ παλείοις Θεοῖς τείμης χάριν ἔτυς ΝΥ. λ μηνὸς Ξανδικῦ.

Senatus, Populuſque (Palmyrenus) *Alcamenem Panii Mocimi, qui & Æranes, filium, Matthæ nepotem, & Æranem illius patrem viros pios, & patriæ amantiſſimos, & omnimodo publicè placentes patriæ, & penatibus honoris ergô, anno* 450, *ultimo menſis Aprilis, h. e. Ann. Chr.* 131. *Hadriani Imp. emortuali.*

Alcamenes is a Name well known, and frequently occurs; but *Alilamenes*, no where, that I remember. *Alcamenes* was one of the Generals of *Agis* King of *Sparta*, ſent into *Eubæa* when that Iſland revolted from the *Athenians*, afterward made the Governor of *Chios*, and ſlain by the *Athenians* at *Pireæus*. *Thucyd. l.* 8.

Another

* *Ttetz. Arel.* 8. p. 147. Another * of that Name, was a famous Statuary in Braſs, a Contemporary and Rival of the great Maſter *Phidias*; or perhaps it ſhould be read, *Alexamenes*. *Alexamenes* the Son of *Damon* was the *Polemarchus*, or General of the *Ætolians*, ſays † *Gruter*; and inſtead of *Panius*, I would read either *Pinnius*, which is no unuſual Name among the *Romans* (*L. Pinnius Celer*, & *L. Pinnius Celſus* occur in the Inſcriptions) or rather *Phanius*; Φάνιος πρεσβύτης, in ‖ *Gruter*; Ἀπέλλας Φανίς, the *Prætor* of *Apamia*, in the ∴ Coins. That this *Phanius Mocimus* was alſo called *Airanes*, the Inſcription demonſtrates, wherein *Airanes* is expreſly called the Father of *Alcamenes*; they are both magnified for their Piety, and their Love to their Country (as *Barachias*, and *Mocimus* his Son, are applauded in the next Inſcription) to which they were great Benefactors, while in gratitude their fellow-Citizens honoured ſuch Patrons with the magnificent Titles of Κτίσαι (*Founders* of their City,) Σωτῆρες (*Saviours*,) and Εὐεργέται (*Benefactors*,) paying them the higheſt Reſpect while alive; and perpetuating their Memory when

† Cxxix. 15.

‖ *DV. Harduin.* p. 58.

when dead, by a thankful Remembrance, by publick Statues, and noble Inſcriptions, according to that excellent Sentence that is happily preſerv'd among the Fragments of the ancient Gratitude in one of *Gruter*'s Marbles, 896. 4.

Τὺς ἀγαθὺς κ᾽ θανόντας εὐεργετεῖν δεῖ.

That good Men, even when they are dead, ought to be recompenc'd, and celebrated.— Thus the Senate and People of *Ancyra*, the Metropolis of the *Tectoſagi*, honoured *L. Fulvius Ruſticus Æmilianus*, *Calpurnius Proclus*, and *T. Flavius Tæanus*, their Benefactors, their Founders, and Saviours. This Title of *Benefactors* was ſometimes given to Kings, ſays the Holy Writ, *Luk.* 22. 25. to the *Ptolemy's*, *Mithridates*, to *Philip* of *Macedon*, and other Princes; even to Women, ſo *Berenice* is called by *Eratoſthenes*: ſometimes by Sovereigns to their Subjects, ſo *Artaxerxes* honour'd *Mordecai* with the Title of *Benefactor* and *Saviour*, ſays * *Joſephus*. Their Names and Atchievements, for the Preſervation of their Maſters, being recorded (V. *Eſth.* 6. 1, 2.) and a particular Reward always † appointed them: V. *Marm. Coſſon.* 1, 2, 3, 4.

* *Antiq. l.* 11. *c.* 6.

† V. *Herodot. l.* 8.

them; at other times to whole Countries, ſo the *Agrianæ* were called * Εὐεργέται, (the *Perſian* Name is *Oroſangæ*, ſays *Herodotus*,) becauſe they aſſiſted *Cyrus* the Son of *Cambyſes* in his Expedition againſt the *Scythians*; a Title that demonſtrated their Likeneſs to the Deities, [for the *Egyptians* called their *Nilus* and *Oſiris*, *i. e.* the Sun, *Omphis*, which ſignifies a Benefactor, ſays † *Hermæus* in *Plutarch*,] to whom alſo a good Man was ſometimes accounted a Benefactor, for ſo *Clinodemus* the Son of *Lebotus* is by a publick Decree of the Senate and People of *Delos* declared (Εὐεργέτην τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ Δηλίων) he and his Poſterity Benefactors to the Temple and People of *Delos*. And *Dionyſius* of *Berytus* is celebrated as a Benefactor to his Country Gods, ſo the learned Editor of the *Oxford* Marbles, and others, underſtand the Inſcription, Διονύσου Ζήνωνος τοῦ Θεοδώρου Βηρύτιος Εὐεργέτης Θεοῖς πατρίοις, i. e. *Beneficus erga Patrios Deos*, while the Inſcription may be thus rendred, I think more properly, *Dionyſius Zenonis filius Theodori nepos Berytius beneficus* (h. e. *ſolenni decreto Berytiorum* Εὐεργέτης, *ſeu Benefactor ſancitus*)

* *Arrian. l. 3. de Exped. Alex. p. 73.*

† *De Iſid. & Oſir. & Julian. Orat. 3.*

V. *Oxon. Marm. Apn. 1. & 3. p. 287.*

ſancitus) *Diis Patriis* (*Marmor ſc. ſeu aram poſuit, ſeu dedicavit.*) Thus in a curious Inſcription found and tranſcribed by Monſieur *Spon*, in the Iſthmus of *Corinth*; the Dedication is made, Θεοῖς πατρίοις, καὶ τῇ πατρίδι, *Publius* "*Licinius Pyæm. Priſcus Iuventianus*, "the High Prieſt for Life, devoting to "his Country Gods, and his Country, "the Altars which he had built, the Pro- "viſions which he had made for the "*Athletæ*, who ſhould come thither to "the *Iſthmian* Games, with other munifi- "cent Buildings erected to their Honour: Upon which account we may well preſume him a Favorite to the People of *Corinth*, and to the *Penates*; as *Alcamenes* and his Father *Airanes* are ſaid to be pleaſing not only to their fellow-Citizens, but to their Country Gods, who probably by an Oracle declar'd their good Opinion of their Perſons, and acceptance of their Services; for ſo *Julius Aurelius Zenobius* is in another of theſe Inſcriptions, ſaid to be for his extraordinary meritorious Services to his Prince and Country, honour'd with a Teſtimonial from the God *Jaribolus*, (who was doubtleſs one

Miſcellan. erudit. Antiquit. §. 10. *n.* 111. *p.* 363.

P. 97. *Tranſact.*

the Country Gods, or *Penates* of *Palmyra*;) and *Bolanus* declar'd in a third
P. 103. place to be chosen one of the Curators of the Fountain *Aphaca* by the same God *Jaribolus*, the Heathens paying a great Veneration to their Country Gods, or *Penates*, (for so the old Glossaries instruct us. *Penates*, πατρῷοι
Goth. l. 1. c. 25. p. 375. θεοί; & *vice versâ*, πατρῷοι Θεοὶ, *Penates*: and *Procopius* says, that *Janus* was the first of the antient Gods, whom the Romans call'd *Penates*, ὁ δὲ Ἰάνος πρῶτος μὲν ἦν τῶν ἀρχαίων Θεῶν, οὓς δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι γλώσσῃ τῇ σφετέρᾳ πένητας, *h.e.*
Ep. Jamblich. *Penates*, ἐκάλουν.) For when *Julian* the Emperor would pass an extravagant Complement upon his Friend *Jamblichus*, (if the Epistle be his, which I much doubt) he says, that as soon as he came into *Bithynia*, he offered him his Presents, as if he had been one of his Country Gods, καθάπερ πατρίῳ Θεῷ.

6.

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Βαρείχειν Αμρισάμου τοῦ Ἰαριβωλέους καὶ Μόκιμον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεῖς καὶ φιλοπατρίδας τειμῆς χάριν . . . . . .

Senatus,

Senatus, populusq; Bareichen (seu Barachiam) Amrisamsi filium Jariboleos nepotem, & Mocimum illius filium viros pios, & Patriæ amantes honoris ergo coluit.

This honorary Inscription needs no Commentary, since it is so very like the former, unless it be worth remarking that *Jariboleus* is here the Name of a Man, as elsewhere of a God, it being very usual to give the names of their Deities to their great Men; though perhaps it might not be reckon'd the wildest of Conjectures to imagine, that *Amrisamsus* was called *Jariboleus* after the name of his God, to whose Patronage he had committed himself, and by whom he was nominated to some Office, perhaps the Priesthood, as *Bolanus* was by the same Deity to the Office of Curator of the Fountain *Aphaca*.

The following Inscription is very noble, and very instructive.

7.

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἰοῦλιον Αὐρήλιον Ζηνόβιον τὸν καὶ Ζαβδίλαν Δισμάλχου τοῦ

Νασσȣ̃μȣ ςρατηγήσαντα ἐν ἐπιδημία Θεȣ̃ Αλεξάνδρȣ, ϗ ὑπηρετήσαντα παρȣσία διηνεκεῖ Ρȣτιλλίȣ Κρισπείνȣ τȣ̃ ἡγησαμένȣ, ϗ ἐπιδημησάσαις ουηξιλλατίοσιν, ἀγορανομησαντάτε ϗ ουκονισωνα φειδήσαντα χρημάτων, ϗ καλῶς πολιτευσάμενον ὡς διὰ ταῦτα μαρτυρηθέντα ὑπὸ Θεȣ̃ Ιαριβώλȣ ϗ ὑπὸ Ιȣλίȣ . . . . . τȣ̃ ἐξοχωτάτȣ ἐπάρχȣ τȣ̃ εἱρȣ̃ πραιτωρίȣ, ϗ τῆς πατρίδος τὸν φιλόπατριν τειμῆς χάριν ἔτȣς ΔΝΦ.

S. P. Q. (Palmyrenus) Julium Aurelium Zenobium, qui & Zabdilas, Dioſmalchi filium, Naſſumi Nep. militantem in adventu Dei Alexandri, & indefeſsâ præſentiâ, inſervientem Rutillio Criſpino Duci, & deductis vexillationibus; ædilem, nec ſuis parcentem ſumptibus, ſed & optimum Magiſtratum, ideóq; teſtimonio ornatum à Deo Jaribolo, & à Julio . . . . . nobiliſſimo Præfecto prætorio, & à Patriâ, Patriæ amantem, honoris ergo. Anno. 554. Chriſti ſc. 242. Gordiani tertii $\frac{5}{6}$.

To underſtand this Inſcription aright, it is requiſite to reflect upon the State of both the Roman and Perſian Empires at that time; which I ſhall briefly

briefly conſider. *Alexander the Great* having made himſelf Maſter of all the East, his Succeſſors the Kings of *Syria*, kept the Poſſeſſion of that part of the Empire, till *Arſaces* the Parthian, provok't by the Injuries done to his Brother *Tiridates*, took Arms, and having ſlain *Pherecles* the Governor of the Country, laid the Foundation of the Parthian Empire (which whither it commenc'd under *Seleucus Callinicus*, or his Father *Antiochus*, who call'd himſelf the God, I will not undertake to determine:) This Empire laſted 270 Years, ſays *Agathias* out of the Records of that Country, from *Arſaces* their firſt King to *Artaban* the laſt, under whom *Artaxeres*, (*Zoſimus* calls more properly *Artaxerxes*) an obſcure Perſian, but of an aſpiring Mind, of great Courage and Induſtry, having fermented ſeveral of the Natives into a Rebellion, after three Battles fought with ſucceſs, ſeiz'd *Artaban*, and, having muther'd him, put the Crown on his own Head, and ſo tranſlated the Empire a ſecond time to the Perſians. This happen'd, ſays the above-mentioned Hiſtorian, in the five hundredth

Zoſim. l. 1. *pag.* 18.

L. 2. *& Herodian. l.* 6.

Agath. l. 4.

and thirty eight Year of *Alexander the Great*, (*i. e.* of the *æra Seleucidarum*) and in the fourth Year of *Alexander* the Son of *Mammæa*: *Artaxerxes* having thus conquer'd the Parthians, and ſettled himſelf in the Throne, the next Year after, *viz.* the fifth of *Alexander*, he made his Incurſions into the Roman Territories. *Alexander* at firſt attempted to divert him from his Inroads by his Letters; but finding the Method unſucceſsful, he marcht with a powerful Army into the Eaſt, fought that potent Prince, forc't him to fly, and got a glorious Victory, having taken 300 Elephants, deſtroy'd 200 more, ſlain an Hundred and twenty thouſand of their Horſe, beſides 10000 of their (*Cataphractæ*) Troops, that were arm'd *cap à pe*; he alſo recover'd *Meſopotamia* out of their hands, and firſt taught the Perſians how to ſerve the Romans; after which he return'd to *Antioch*, and from thence to *Rome*, where the Senate decreed him a Triumph, as the Reward of his Services on the 25*th* of *September*, *Anno Chriſti* 227.

Lamprid. pag. 133.

This

This Victory, ſays *Caſſiodore* in his *Faſti*, was obtain'd in the firſt Year of *Alexander*, *Julianus* and *Criſpinus* being Conſuls, (*his Coſſ. Alexander Xerxem Regem Perſarum vicit*) but he is miſtaken; for not to mention, that *Julian* and *Criſpinus* were not Conſuls, till the $\frac{2}{1}$ Year of *Alexander* (who came to the Empire *Anno ær. vulg.* 222. the 10*th* of *March*, after *Heliogabalus* was ſlain) being fixt by all the other *Faſti*, (both thoſe of *Idatius*, and thoſe, which the moſt Learned Mr. *Dodwell* hath publiſht out of the MSS. of Sir *H. Savil*, and *Iſaac Voſſius*) to the Year of Chriſt 224. *Agathias* poſitively avers, that *Artaxerxes* did not aſſume the Crown of *Perſia*, till the fourth Year of *Alexander Mammææ*, which is exactly coincident with the 538*th* year of the *æra Seleucidarum*, and the vulgar Year of Chriſt $22\frac{8}{9}$; and this account the Hiſtorian declares he had from the Archives of the Perſian Kings.

In this Expedition the *Palmyrenians* declar'd for the Intereſts of the Romans, againſt the Perſian Uſurper, and ſent their Troops to their aſſiſtance under

der their General *Zenobius*. This *Zenobius* is ſaid to be the Son Δισμάλχυ, or Διοσμάλχυ, like Διοσκόρυ, the Names of the Heathen Gods being uſually given to the Men of illuſtrious Deſcent; this *Dioſmalchus* was the Son of *Naſſumus*: In another Inſcription a like name occurs, Μάλωχα Νασσέμυ. The Expedition of *Alexander* is ſtiled ἐπιδημία Θεῦ Αλεξάνδρυ, that great Prince having been dead ſome years, when this Inſcription was erected, and by the Senate deified, who appointed him a Colledge of Prieſts, call'd *Alexandriani*, and order'd a Feſtival to be kept on his Birth-day, which the Romans continued to celebrate near a hundred years after, in the days of *Conſtantine the Great*; and to this Deification probably the Επιδημία in the Inſcription, hath a remote relation; for the Heathens ſeldom ſpeak of their Princes, but as of ſacred Perſons, their Perſons were *numina*, and all their Laws and Actions divine. Thus ἐπιδημία is often uſed; when *Eunapius* treats of the Title of *Philoſtratus*'s Book of the Life of *Apollonius*, he ſaith, it rather ought to be ſtiled ἐπιδημία εἰς ἀνθρώπυς Θεῦ, the Pagans

Tranſact. pag. 98.

Lamprid. pag. 136.

gans ſetting up that Impoſtor in oppoſition to our bleſſed Saviour, who being God, made his appearance among Men. So St. *Gregory* of *Nazianzum*, calls our bleſſed Lord's Incarnation ἐπιδημίαν Θεοῦ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους. It was the common Opinion of thoſe Ages, that their Gods did upon ſome ſolemn days deſcend from Heaven, put on humane Shape, and appear in thoſe Cities, for which they had a particular Regard, (as many of the Ancients thought the Martyrs did frequently ſhow themſelves in thoſe places, either where they had been born, or put to death, or buried;) and this Deſcent they called ἐπιδημία Θεοῦ; and being prone to Deify their Princes, and to treat them with all ſort of divine Honours, whenever the Emperor vouchſaft to viſit any City, they entertained him with the higheſt Teſtimonies of Joy and Exultation, and reputed the Day a ſolemn Feſtival; and therefore in the Coins Επιδημία Aυτ. And *Adventus Auguſti fæliciſſimus* frequently occurs, and in another of the Inſcriptions at *Palmyra*, ΕπιδημίαΘεοῦ Αδριανοῦ.

Orat. 38.

Vid. Dion. Chryſoſt. Tarſ. 1. *pag.* 408.

V. Harduin. num. p. 397.

The

The Imperial General in this Expedition was *Rutillius Criſpinus*, (the *Prænomen* of that great Man being reſtor'd to him from this Inſcription, no ancient Monument elſe calling him other than *Criſpinus*:) *Tullius Criſpinus* was the *Præfectus Prætorio* under *Didius Julianus*; but he cannot be the Man: but there was another *Criſpinus*, a Man of the Conſular Dignity, who with *Menophilus*, after the barbarous Murther of *Alexander Severus*, maintained *Aquileia* againſt *Maximinus*, who in vain beſieg'd it. They were both ſent by the Senate to preſerve that important Place; and they maintain'd their Province with ſo much Courage, that the Soldiers diſpairing to take the City, fell upon their Generals, and ſlew both *Maximin* and his Son, in their Tents. The ſame *Criſpinus* had been long before *Collegue* with *Julianus* in the Conſulſhip *ann.* $\frac{2}{1}$. of *Alexander Severus*, of Chriſt 224. from the Death of *Alexander the Great* 547. and from the Year of *Auguſtus* (or the *Epocha* of the Battel at *Actium*) 253. ſay the ancient *Faſti*, publiſht by the moſt Learned *Dodwell.*

Lamprid. p. 61, 63.

Capitolin. Maximini. 2. p. 146.

Id. p. to 169.

Dodwell. Upon this General *Criſpinus Zenobius* of *Palmyra*, was a conſtant Attendant, aſſiſting the Auxiliary Troops with whatever Neceſſaries they ſtood in need of in thoſe barren Deſarts; Οὐηξιλλατίοων: i. e. *Vexillationibus*, *Vexillariis*, or *auxiliariis*, the words being of an equivalent inport; for thoſe very Troops, which *Tacitus* calls in one place *auxiliorum cohortes*, he preſently after ſtiles *vexillares cohortes*, the whole Roman Army being divided into their own Legions; and Auxiliaries, ſays Monſieur *Saumaiſe*, *auxilia in cohortes diviſa, cohortes in vexilla, itaq; cohors ſemper de auxiliis, & vexilla de cohortibus*; the *Dux Vexillorum* in the Inſcriptions being the ſame with the *Præpoſitus auxiliorum*. *V. Salmaſ. in H. A. Script. p. 125. 455.*

Zenobius was alſo ἀγορανόμος, or *ædile* of his City, (the Office I have already accounted for) and he adorn'd his Province with great Magnificence, for ſo I read ἐκονίσωνα ἐ τῶν ἰδίων (or ἴσων) ἀρειθήσανλα χρημάτων, the Phraſe ἐξ ἰδίων frequently occuring in theſe,

theſe, as in ſeveral other Inſcriptions; and for this Reaſon, among others, he is honour'd with the Title of a good Magiſtrate, καλῶς πολιτευσάμενον;) for this generous and beloved Officer had his publick Teſtimonies, that he deſerv'd the nobleſt Character that could have been given of him, ſince both the Gods and Men were Vouchers for his Merit; the God *Jaribolus*, *Julius Philippus*, the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the Eaſt, together with all his fellow-Citizens, having publickly atteſted his Love to his Country. Of the God *Ja-*
P.168,169 *ribolus*, and his Oracle, I have ſpoken already; and the Monument it ſelf is an undeniable Proof of the Regard his Country had to him, and with what reſpect the Roman Governour of the Eaſt treated him. Who this *Præfectus Prætorio* of the Eaſt was, will be eaſily found, if we reflect on the Date of the Inſcription, *an. ær. Seleucid.* 554. *i. e. Chriſti* 242. the year before the youngeſt *Gordian* was ſlain; at which time *Julius Philippus* the Arabian, was the *Præfectus Præt.* of the Eaſt.

P.161,162. *Capitolinus* affirms, that *Gordian* proclaim'd the War, and went into *Perſia*, when

when *Prætextatus* and *Atticus* were Conſuls: *i. e.* ſays *Onuphrius*, in the year of Chriſt, according to the vulgar Computation, 242. for then *C. Auſidius Atticus*, and *C. Auſinius Prætextatus* were Conſuls; that *Miſitheus* died, and *Philip* ſucceeded him, *Apriano*, and *Papo Coſſ.* that is, the year after, *an. Chriſti* 243. for then *C. Julius Arrianus*, and *Æmilius Papus* were Conſuls; but that the Year following, when *Peregrinus*, and *Fulvius Æmilianus* were Conſuls, *Gordian* was ſlain the firſt of *March*, and *Philip* ſucceeded him. So ſay the *Faſti* of *Idatius*, and others; and ſo ſays *Caſſiodore*, (that in the Conſulate of *Peregrinus* and *Æmilianus*, *Gordian* was ſlain by *Philip*, as he was returning home crown'd with Lawrel for the Conqueſt of the Perſians, not far from the Roman Territories near *Circeſium*; for there he was buried, that being the Roman Boundary toward the Eaſt; and that the Army built him a Tomb on the *Euphrates*, the Place being called *the Sepulchre of Gordian*, ſays *Aur. Victor*, but carried his Bones to *Rome*:) nor do the *Faſti* in Sir *H. Savil*'s MS. ſet out by Mr. *Dodwell*,

well, diſagree, only they fix the Conſuls a year higher, which the *Palmyrene* Inſcription confirms, in which *Philip* is expreſly ſaid to have been the *Præfectus Prætorio* of the Eaſt; *an.* 554. h. e. *Chr.* 242.

From whence alſo we may collect, that the City of *Palmyra* was in the Expedition of *Gordian*, as well as in that of *Alexander* a Confederate, and an Aſſiſtant to the Romans. How that Common-wealth behaved it ſelf toward *Philip* the Murtherer, and Succeſſor of *Gordian*, we have no Records; but from the raſure in the Inſcription we may conclude, that they hated his Name and Memory: In truth ſo odious were the Perſon and Actions of *Philip*, that no one Hiſtorian, that I remember, hath written his Life; and thoſe who treat of him by the by, call him perfidious Wretch. *Aurelius Victor* ſtiles him *Thraconites*, *i. e.* a Native of the Region of *Traconitis*, (born at *Boſtra* in *Arabia* ſays *Triſtan*,) he was of a very mean Parentage and Original; his Father a true *Arab*, a Captain of *Banditi*, (his name *Saturninus*, ſays *Triſtan*) his Life ignominious, and his Death ſuch as he deſerv'd

deſerv'd, being ſacrificed by *Decius* to the angry Manes of his Predeceſſor; 'tis true, *Eutropius* affirms, that he was deify'd after his Death, but ſo were many of the worſt of Emperors. After he aſſum'd the Purple, he made an ignominious Peace with the Perſians, and leaving his Brother *Priſcus* his Governour of the Eaſt, he march't to *Rome*. *Priſcus* behav'd himſelf ſo inſolently in his Office, and laid ſuch heavy Taxes on the People, that in a little time he became inſufferable, inſomuch that the Natives betook themſelves to their Arms, and choſe *Papianus* (others call him *Jotapianus*) Emperor, having, as it is very probable, ſlain *Priſcus*; and *Philip* himſelf a little time after fell by the hand of *Decius*. And at this time, I believe, the raſure was made in the Inſcription at *Palmyra*, it being no unuſual Practice both at *Rome* and in the Eaſt, as to deface the Statues of eminent Perſons, when fallen into diſgrace; ſo to ſcratch out their Names out of the honorary Inſcriptions, devoted to their Memory: Thus in an *Epigraphe* at *Rome*, the name of *Stilicho* is eras't, (though his Titles are left untoucht,

Zoſim. l. 1. p. 20.

Grut. 161. 1.

toucht, as in the *Palmyrene* Inſcription, *V. C. & inluſtris militiæ, & magiſtri utriuſq; militiæ,*) as is alſo the name of *Fl. Macrobius Longinianus* the then Go-
Grut. 178. 8. 330. 3. vernor of *Rome*: the name of *Maximianus* in a 2d, of *Commodus* in a 3d, to omit other Inſtances.

8.

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Σεπτίμιον τὸν κράτιστον Ἐπίτροπον Σεβαστῶν Δουκηνάριον . . . . εὐδοτίᾳ τῆς μητροκολωνείας, καὶ ἀνακομίσαντα τὰς συνοδίας ἐξ ἰδίων, καὶ μαρτυρηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀρχεμπόρων, καὶ λαμπρῶς στραληγήσαντα, καὶ ἀγορανομήσαντα τῆς αὐτῆς μητροκολωνείας, καὶ πλεῖστα οἰκοθεν ἀναλώσαντα, καὶ ἀρέσαντα τῇτε αὐτῇ βουλῇ, καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, καὶ νυνεὶ λαμπρῶς συμποσίαρχον τῶν τοῦ Διὸς Βήλου ἱερῶν, τειμῆς ἕνεκεν ἐτ . . . . . Ξανδικῷ.

S. P. Q. (*Palmyrenus*) *Septimium* (*Orodem*) *optimum Procuratorem Ducenarium Auguſti, qui oleum curavit donandum Metropoli coloniæ, quiq; privatâ impensâ, & ſuo ſumptu commeatum mercatoribus iter commune facientibus præbuit; & à negotiorum præſidibus amplum teſtimonium adeptus eſt; fortiter, & cum laude militantem, & ædilem ejuſdem Metropoleos coloniæ, plurimas etiam*

etiam opes domi impendentem; ideoq; placentem eidem ſenatui, Populoq; & nunc magnificè Modimperatorem agentem in ſacrificiis Jovis Beli, honoris ergo coluit. Ann. · · · · · menſe Martio.

In three ſeveral Inſcriptions erected to the Honour of *Septimius Orodes*, this by the Senate of *Palmyra*, and two others by his Friend *Julius Palmes*, (for I no way doubt, but they all belong to the ſame Illuſtrious Perſon, and were ſet up in the ſame Year, and the ſame Month;) he is ſaid to have been the *Procurator Ducenarius* to *Odænathus*, (for there could be no other Emperor at *Palmyra* in the Year of Chriſt 266.) and to have done many good Offices for his Country, particularly for the Merchants, who honour'd him with a publick Teſtimonial of their Gratitude; what the Office of the ἐπίτροπος Σεβαστῆ δεκηνάεις was, what the ἀγορανόμος, and συμποσίαρχος, I have already declar'd: the imperfect word ···· εοδότιω is by Mr. *Halley* rendred χρεοδότιω, (it being unqueſtionable, that the Ancients did diſtribute, beſides Bread, and other Largeſſes, Fleſh to

Vid. Appen. cap. 3.

the People; the Law calls it *Viſceratio*, and the old Gloſſary, *Viſceratio*, ἀρτύκρεας, εὐφροσύνα;) but if I might be allowed the liberty of making another Conjecture, I would read it ἐλαιοδότιον, (or as the Syrian Graver might ſpell it ἐλεοδότιον) the Cuſtom of beſtowing Oyl upon the Citizens on ſolemn Feſtivals, being well underſtood: *Ceſtrania Severina* gave a great Sum to the Colledge of the *Dendrophori*, that every year upon her Birth-day ſuch a quantity of Oyl might be diſtributed to every one of them. And *T. Fundilius Geminus* gave, beſides his Bequeſt to the Cheſt of the *Auguſtales*, and the Magiſtrates, *&c.* to the People a Feaſt, and a Largeſs of Oyl on his Birth-day. And *L. Cæcilius* bequeath'd to the Inhabitants of *Como* every year on the Feaſt of *Neptune*, Oyl for their *Gymnaſia*, and their Baths, and for the Exerciſes in the publick Places of Sport, (as I would render he words, *in campo.*)

Grut. 312. 4

Id. 414. 2.

Id. 136. 5.

I have read μητροκολωνεία, μητροπολις κολωνεία, (as many other Eaſtern Cities are ſtiled in the Coins) though Monſieur *Patin*, in his Edition of the Coins

P. 130. *&c.*

Coins of *Maurocenus*, retains μητροκολωνεία in those of the Cities of *Emsea*, *Carræ*, and *Antioch*, (Cities of the East not far from *Palmyra*;) in all which I am of opinion, the word should be rendred *Metropolis colonia*, μητροκολωνεία never appearing in any Lexicon; συνοδία is rendred by the Critics *Conjunctio in via*, or *iter commune*; and *Septimius* is magnified in the Inscription for his defraying the Expence of the *Caravan*, for which reason the Presidents of the Merchants in a publick Meeting gave him their Testimonial, according to custom: So *Metrodorus* the Son of *Hermogenes*, the Grandson of *Metrodorus*, was honoured with a Testimonial from the whole Synod, or Colledge of Priests of *Ceres*, and advanc'd to the Office of *Stephanephorus*, or the President, of their Country in holy things, (ἡ συνόδος συμμαρτυρασ·· τὸν στεφανηφόρον) and others are said to have been (τιμηθέντας ἐν ἐκκλησίαις) rewarded with the Thanks of their publick Assemblies; the Merits of *Septimius* were as illustrious as his Country's Love toward him: He had obliged their private Societies, and been very magnificent to the whole

Grut. 309. 1.

Inscript. Cossou. n. 12.

City; he had been an Officer, and behav'd himſelf with Courage and Reputation under his Prince *Odænathus*, probably when he routed the *Perſians*; and was that year, when the Monument was erected, the *Sympoſiarch* in the Feſtival dedicated to *Jupiter Belus* their Patron Deity, *viz.* in the year 266. after Chriſt, and of the Empire of *Odænathus* the $\frac{3}{4}$.

9.

I proceed in the next place to conſider the Monuments erected by private Perſons to the Memory of their Friends: The firſt of which contains the grateful Remembrance which the *Palmyrene* Merchants, trading to *Vologeſias*, retain'd of the great Services, which *Julius Aurelius Zebeidas* did them in that Expedition.

Ἰούλιον Αὐρήλιον Ζεβεί̈δαν Μοκίμου τοῦ Ζεβεί̈δου . . . . . ἀνδρεοβαίδα οἱ συὼ αὐτῷ κατιλθόντες εἰς Ὀλογησάδα ἐμπόριαν ἔχησαν ἀρίσανία αὐτοῖς τιμῆς χάριν Ξανθικῷ τοῦ, ΗΝΦ ἔτους . . . .

Which, with leave to fill up the vacant Spaces, and to correct the Miſtakes, may thus be read and rendred:

Ἰούλιον

Ἰοῦλιον Αὐρήλιον Ζεβείδαν Μοκίμου τοῦ Ζεβείδου πραγματείας θεωρὸν ἀΐδιον οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ κατελθόντες εἰς Ολογεσιάδα ἐμπόριον ἔστησαν ἀρέσαντα αὐτοῖς τειμῆς χάριν Ξανδικῷ τοῦ, ΗΝΦ ἔτους ····

Julium Aurelium Zebeidam Mocimi F. Zebeidæ N. perpetuum commercii curatorem qui cum illo descenderunt ad emporium Vologessiam elegerunt, virum iis gratissimum, cultûs gratiâ : Mense Martio, anno 558. h.e. Christi 246. Philippi Arabis Imp. 2°.

That *Palmyra* was a City of great Trade, and the Inhabitants eminent Merchants, hath been already prov'd from *Appian* and *Pliny* ; as also that their Commerce was maintain'd both with *Persia* and the Western Empire ; which also was done by other Frontier Cities, though under the Jurisdiction of the Roman Princes, as by *Nisibis* and *Edessa* ; of whom the old Geographer says, that " they were peopled " with Men of condition, excellently " skill'd in all the Methods of Trade, " great Navigators, very rich, and Ma- " sters

ἐξήρετ' ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου. §.16. p. 10

" ſters of all worldly Plenty; that " what they bought of the Perſians, " they ſold to the Romans, dealing in " all ſort of Commodities, but Con- " traband Goods, Braſs and Iron, which " they were forbidden to ſell to the " Enemies of *Perſia*. Which Character ſeems exactly ſuited to the *Palmyrene* Merchants.

For that they traded to *Vologeſias*, (a City under the Perſian Juriſdiction) is plain from the Inſcription; in which Ολογησὰς is neither the Town of *Olgaſſus*, nor the Name of a Man, but of a famous City on the *Euphrates*, not far from its Confluence with the *Tigris*.

Nat. Hiſt. l. 6. §. 30. p. 71. * *Babylon*, ſays *Pliny*, was once the Seat of the Eaſtern Empire, and the great Mart of Trade; but it fell into decay, when *Seleucus Nicator* built *Seleucia*, where the two Rivers meet, ſituated in a moſt fruitful Soil, and commonly called *Babylon*. To eclipſe the Glory, and lower the Trade of *Seleucia*; the Parthians, after they had made themſelves Maſters of the Eaſt, built *Cteſiphon*, three miles from *Seleucia* on the Eaſtern Bank of *Tigris*, and there fixt the Reſidence of their Kings; but, this Project

Project not anſwering expectation, King *Vologeſes* (who in a Coin in the Cabinet of Pope *Alexander* the 7th, is ſtiled Βολόγαισος, with all his lofty Titles, according to the Rhodomontade of the Parthian and Perſian Kings; *βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, ἐπιφανὴς, φιλέλλην*; to which Epithets, in another Coin in Monſieur *Patin*, is added δίκαιος) being Contemporary with *Nero* and *Veſpaſian*, built another City, which from his own Name he called *Vologeſocerta*, in the Neighbourhood, (18 miles diſtant, ſay the *Peutinger* Tables;) but to the South of *Babylon*, and there, probably, fixt the ſtaple of Trade from the Perſian Gulph, and the other parts of the Eaſt. This City is called by *Stephanus* Βολογασιὰς, by *Ptolomee* Ουολγασὰς; *Voloceſſia* in the *Peutinger* Tables, and *Vologeſſia* by *Ammianus Marcellinus*; but by *Pliny*, according to the *Perſic* Termination, *Vologeſocerta*. Κίρτα πόλις ὑπὸ Ἀρμενίων, ſays *Heſychius*; to prove which Aſſertion there is an eminent Paſſage in *Pliny*; that among the Cities of *Armenia the Leſs*, *Armoſate* is ſituate near the *Euphrates*, *Carcathiocerta* near the *Tigris*, (which * *Strabo* affirms, was the

N. H. *l.* 6. §. 10. *p.* 663. * *Lib.* 11. *p.* 527.

the Royal City of *Sophene*;) but on the Mountains *Tigranocerta* ſtood. And for *Artaſigarta*, which *Ptolemee* * places in *Armenia the Greater*, I would read *Artaxicerta*; *Zadracarta* being alſo the chief City of *Hyrcania*, ſays † *Arrian.* And I cannot but remark, that this word, either in Termination, or Præfixt, in almoſt all Languages ſignifies a City. In Hebrew *Kiriath-Arba* is the City of *Arba*, *Kiriath-Sepher* is the City of Books; in the Punick, *Carthage* is the new City, in the Scythian, *Carpaluk* the City of Fiſh; ſays *Tzetzes*, τὸ Καζεμ δὲ πόλις Σκυθικῶν, τὸ δὲ παλαι ἰχθύες. And in our own Britiſh *Cair-Lundein*, *London*; *Cair-Kent*, *Canterbury*; *Cair-went*, *Wincheſter*, &c. and probably among the *Ægyptians Gran-Cair* hath its name from this Original, *or al Cahira*, as the *Arabians* call it.

*L. 5. c. 13.

† *Lib. 3. de exped Alex. p. 71.*

Chil. 8. c. 224.

To this City *Vologeſia*, the Merchants of *Palmyra* traded, not long after it was made a Mart by the King, who founded it; but the Commerce was often interrupted by the frequent Wars made by the Romans and Perſians againſt each other; particularly during the Expedition of *Gordianus* into

to the Eaſt; but when *Philip* the Arab, having murdred that excellent Emperor, ſucceeded him, and made an ignominious Peace with *Sapores* in the firſt year of his Reign, the Perſian Company at *Palmyra* ſent *Julius Aurelius Zebeidas*, with other eminent Perſons of their Society, to *Vologeſia* to re-eſtabliſh their Factory, and adjuſt all Differences that had happen'd ſince the War broke out: And he diſcharg'd that Office ſo faithfully, and ſo much to their Satisfaction, that upon his return they erected a Monument with an honorary Inſcription to his Memory, which is ſtill preſerv'd, and as a Reward of his great Services, choſe him their Preſident. For ſo I am inclin'd to read that broken, and unintelligible part of the Inſcription; πραγματείας θεωρὸν ἀΐδιον οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ κατελθόντες εἰς Ολογεσάδα ἐμπόριον ἔστησαν. θεωρὸς *ab* ὤρη; i. e. φροντὶς, *curator*; ſay the Lexicographers; it commonly ſignifies *rerum divinarum curatorem*, τῶν θείων φροντίζοντα, but here a Preſident or Inſpector. ἔστησαν, εἵλοντο, ſays *Heſychius*.

The

The two following Inſcriptions concern the ſame Perſons.

10.

Σεπτίμιον Ουορώδην τὸν κράτιστον ἐπίτροπον Σεβαστοῦ Δουκηνάριον καὶ Ἀροαπέτην Ἰούλιος Αὐρήλιος Εάλμης Κασσιανοῦ τοῦ Μελεναίου Ἱππεὺς Ρωμαίων τὸν φίλον, καὶ προστάτην ἔτους ΗΟΦ. μήνει Ξανδικῷ.

Septimium Orodem optimum Procuratorem Auguſti Ducenarium & Archegetam Julius Aurelius Palmes Caſſiani F. Melenæi N. Eques Romanus amicum, & Patronum. Anno 578. *menſe Martio*; h. e. Chriſti 266. Odenathi 2°.

11.

Σεπτίμιον Ουορώδην τὸν κράτιστον ἐπίτροπον. Σεβαστοῦ Δουκηνάριον καὶ Αροαπέτην Ἰούλιος Αυρήλιος, Εάλμης Πύιλσος Μελεναῖος Μάλωχα Νασσούμου ὁ κράτιστος τὸν φίλον, καὶ προστάτην τειμῆς ἕνεκεν ἔτους . . . . μήνει Ξανδικῷ.

Septimium Orodem optimum Procuratorem Auguſti Ducenarium, & Archegetam Julius Aurelius Palmes, Publius Melenæus

lenæus Malchi F. Naſſumi N. vir præſtantiſſimus amicum, & patronum honoris ergo anno .... menſe Martio, (coluerunt.)

Of *Septimius Orodes*, I have diſcours't in the Comment on the eighth Inſcription, and of his eminent Employments under *Odænathus*, as his Procurator *Ducenarius*, and in the City, as their *Ædilis* and *Sympoſiarch*; in theſe two Inſcriptions he is ſtiled Αρχαγέτης, (for ſo I would read the unintelligible ἀρσαπέτην not ἀρταγέτης, as Mr. *Halley* conjectures; the *Præfectus annonæ*, the Officer, who took care the City ſhould not want Bread; becauſe he is ſaid to be προστάτης the Patron of *Julius Aurelius Palmes* the Roman Knight, who was not a Native of *Palmyra*, the Γ and Π being Letters eaſily miſtaken one for the other; and in one Copy of the Inſcription it is thus written, ΑΡΛ-ΠΗΤΗΝ.) Now the *Archegeta* was the Chief, or Preſident of his Tribe, ſays *Heſychius* (*V.* Αρχηγέται, ἥρωες ἐπώνυμοι τῶ φυλῶν ἢ θεοὶ ἐν Αθήναις, *Id. v.* ἐπώνυμοι, οἱ τῶ φυλῶν ἐπώνυμοι ἥρωες, οἵπερ ἐκαυδέκα) the Heroe, from whom the Tribe had its name; they were honour'd

honour'd with Statues of Brass, says the * *Etymolog. magnum*, and were Persons of the most eminent Dignity; their number at *Athens* was ten, *Erechtheus*, *Ægeus*, *Pandion*, &c. and of the same number were their Tribes; their Authority was great, and their Power extensive, (*Hes.* Αρχηγέτης ἄρχων. Αρχηγέτας ἄρχοντας: *Theodorit*, *l.* 3. θεραπευτ, citing *Plutarch deoracul. defectu*, calls *Arsalus*, *Aryus*, and *Tosobis*, whom *Saturn* slew, but the *Lycians* deify'd, Αρχηγέτας τῶν Λυκίων, whom *Plutarch* calls ἄρχοντας; and the same Author in the Life of *Lycurgus*, says the King of *Sparta* was their Αρχηγέτης) the name was particularly given to those who were the Leaders or Captains of Colonies, when they were transplanted, and their Protectors: So † *Xenophon* says of *Hercules*, Ηρακλεῖ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ Αρχηγέτῃ. || *Plutarch* of *Minerva*, Αρχηγέτις Αθήνα; and the old Inscription to *Apollo*, in Monsieur * *Spon.* Απόλλωνι Αρχηγέτῃ; ashe is also stiled by *Thucydides* †, who mentions an Altar erected to *Apollo* Αρχηγέτης, by the Inhabitants of *Chalcis*, who left *Eubæa*, and built *Naxus*, upon which the Priests (Θεωροὶ)

* V. Ἐπώνυμος v. loc.

† Ελλαν. 6.

|| *Vit. Alcibiad.*

* *It. Athen.* p. 150.

† *L.* 6. *n.* 3. p. 349.

ροὶ) uſed to offer Sacrifice, before they left *Sicily*, whenever they undertook a Voyage. *Apollo* was ſo called, ſays the old Scholiaſt upon *Pindar* *, becauſe he was the Author of that Expedition of the *Naxians*, when they went into *Sicily*; or as † *Appian* ſays, ὁ δὲ Αρχηγέτης Απόλλωνος ἀγαλμάτιον ἐστὶ, ὅπρωτον ἐστήσαντο Ναξίων οἱ εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπωκισμένοι.

* *V. Cluver. Sicil. p.* 93, 94.

† *Lib.* 5. *Bell. civil. p.* 734.

This Preſident, or Prince of the Tribe, was ſometimes ſtiled the *Phylarchus*, (φύλαρχος φυλῆς ἄρχων in *Heſychius*) or φυλαρχῶν, as it is in the *Ancyran* Inſcription above mention'd; for where-ever the φυλαρχῶν is named, the φυλὴ is alſo named in the ſame Inſcription. And the *Phylarchs* of the *Saracens* were ſo called, becauſe the People were divided into 12 Tribes; over every one of which was eſtabliſh'd a Prince, called the *Phylarchus*, a Cuſtom kept up by the *Goths*, and other barbarous Nations. To what number the Tribes at *Palmyra* amounted, I know not; but that *Septimius Orodes* was the chief of one of them, is manifeſt from the Inſcription; nor do I doubt but thoſe Chiefs had the power to admit a Foreigner

p. 240.

V. Memor. Coſſon. p. 14½.

Foreigner to the Priviledges of the Tribe, and to give him their Protection; and therefore *Orodes* is ſaid to be Friend to *Julius Aurelius Palmes*, and his Patron. (Προςάτην) *Heſyc.* προςασία, κυβέρνησις, *Gloſſ. vet.* προςασία *Pratrocinium*, προςάτης *Patronus*, *præpoſitus*. And *Harpocration* affirms, that no Foreigner was permitted to leave his own City, and to ſettle at *Athens*, unleſs one of the Citizens undertook to be his Patron, (ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἦν ἑκάςῳ τῶν μετοίκων πολίτην τινα Αθηναίων νέμειν προςάτην) the ſine the Foreigner, when ſo patroniz'd, paid to the City was 12 *Drachmas*, called from thoſe who paid the Tax μετοίκιον, which whoſoever refuſed to lay down, he was brought to the (πωληταὶ) Officers, who took care of their Tolls, and ſold, being for the moſt part condemn'd to the Gallies. Nor can I doubt but the ſame Cuſtom of Patronizing Foreigners was obſerv'd in other Cities, particularly at *Palmyra*; this Patronage ſometimes covered only private Perſons: Thus at *Ancyra*, *Flavianus Eutyches* acknowledges, *C. Æl. Flavianus Sulpicius* his Patron, Γ. Αιλ. φλαουιανὸν Σουλπίκιον δὶς π · · λατάρχην,

V. Προςάτης, & μετοίκιον.

Marm. Coſſon. 5.

(Lege

(*Lege* Γαλατάρχην) τὸν ἁγνότατον καὶ δικαιότατον Φλαυϊάνον. Εὐτυχὴς τὸν γλυκύτατον πάτρωνα. *Eutyches*, I doubt not, was his *Libertus*, and acknowledg'd the Patronage of his *quondam* Maſter, who had made him free; ſuch Teſtimonials of Gratitude being as uſual, as juſt, (and ſometimes it happen'd the Freedman himſelf became a Patron; ſo. *Tiberius* *Grut.* 610. 3. *Claudius* the *Libertus* of *Auguſtus*, is called the Patron of his Parents, to whom he erected a Monument.) Sometimes the Patronage reach'd Societies, and Companies of Trade, (ſo we read of the Patrons of the Colleges of the *Arvales*, *Grut. paſs.* the *Dendrophori*, the Companies of Smiths, the Braziers, the Fiſhermen, and Shipwrights, &c.) ſometimes whole Cities and Regions, and the Title and Office was very honourable, *C. Toraſius* being by the unanimous Suffrages of the Magiſtrates choſen the Patron of a Town by the River *Clitumnus*, (*ob merita ejus erga Remp.*) for his great Services done to the Common-wealth.

This Patronage it was requiſite that even the Romans themſelves (during the Reign of *Odenathus* in the Eaſt, in whoſe time the Inſcriptions were made)

ſhould court, as *Julius Palmes* did; I call him *Palmes* becauſe it is a known Roman name, (and perhaps *Melenæus* ſhould be written *Mellinius*, or *Menelaus*) for which reaſon I have inſerted *Publius* for *Puilſus*. He was a Man of the Equeſtrian Dignity, which intitled him at *Rome* to eminent Privileges; which I ſhall not minutely enumerate, only mentioning, that the Roman Knights inſtall'd the *Princeps juventutis*, preſenting him with a Horſeman's Shield, (*Parma*) and a Silver Spear; for ſo ſays the *Ancyran* Marble, as *Gronovius* judiciouſly hath ſupplied the era's't Letters. *Equites autem Romani univerſi Principem Juventutis Romanorum parmis utrumq; & haſtis argenteis donatum appellaverunt*; for that both *Caius* and *Lucius* were *Principes juventutis*, the Coins put out of all doubt: And that whenever a Native of any of the Romon Colonies was admitted to the Honour of being made a Roman Knight, he reckon'd the Privilege among his nobleſt Titles: So *L. Claudius*, the chiefeſt Perſon of the Iſland of *Malta*, glories in the Honour, as does *Fl. Ælianus*, (or *Ti. Flavius Tæanus*, as it is written in the

Marm. Ancyr. p. 60. 84

Grut. 388. 4. 400. 3. *Marm. Coſſon. p.* 141.

the Marble of *Cosson*) though the High-priest of the whole Province of *Galatia*, and *Galatarches*, the 2d Founder of his native City *Ancyra*, and their Embassador to the Emperor *Antoninus*.

12.

Σεπτίμιον Αιράνην Οδαινάθου τὸν λαμπρότατον συγκλητικόν.

Septimium Airanem Odænathi filium senatorem eminentissimum.

I have already prov'd it not unlikely, that this *Airanes* was the Son of the Emperor *Odænathus*, before he assum'd the Purple, from his name *Septimius*, the name of his Father being also inserted, and from the Date of the following Inscription on the same Pillar, *viz. ann. Christi* 251. but 13 years before *Odænathus* was chosen by *Gallienus*, his Co-partner in the Government of the World.

13.

Εξα .... ντων Αυρηλι .... ρ Ηλιόδωρ ..... στρατιώτης λε ..... κης τῶν πατρῶν τειμῆς καὶ εὐχαριστίας χάριν ἔτους Γ Ξ Φ.

Aurelius Valerius Heliodorus Præfectus Legionis Illyriciorum in honorem Patrum, & gratulationis ergô anno 363. h. e. Chr. 251. Decii ult.

I have given the name *Valerius* to *Heliodorus* to fill up the Vacancy, becauſe it occurs elſewhere, (*L. P. Valerius Heliodorus*) and becauſe the ϱ that appears before Ηλιόδωϱ. ſeems to be laſt Letter of Ουαληϱ, a like Vacancy occurring in the ſame name in another Inſcription. This *Heliodorus* was, I doubt not, either the Son of, if not the ſame Perſon with, *Lucius Aurelius Heliodorus*, the Son of *Antiochus*, a Citizen of *Palmyra*; who in an Inſcription at *Rome*, publiſht by *Gruter*, (but more accurately by *Triſtan* and *Spon*) erected a Silver Statue, (σήγνον) with all its Ornaments, to *Aglibelus* and *Malachbelus*, the Gods of his Country, for the ſafety of himſelf, his Wife and Children, in the Year 547. according to the Computation of his Country, but in the Year of Chriſt 235. being the laſt year of the Reign of *Alexander Severus*, the Inſcription lately found at *Palmyra* bearing date 16 years

years after, *ann. Chr.* 251. which was the laſt year of the Emperor *Decius*. He is ſtiled Αδριανὸς παλμυρηνὸς, in the Marble at *Rome*, (*Triſtan* reads it Αδριανεὺς) not becauſe an Inhabitant of *Palmyra*, which from their Benefactor was called *Hadrianople*; for then it ſhould have been written Αδριανοπολίτης, but by miſtake of the Graver, or Tranſcriber; for Αδριάνειος, he being one of the College of Prieſts (*Sodalis Hadrianalis*) dedicated to the Service of that Emperor, after the Senate had deify'd him: For, that he was acknowledg'd a God at *Palmyra*, is plain from another Inſcription; in which he is called, Θεὸς Αδριανὸς. And in that City, I doubt not but *Heliodorus* was one of his Prieſts, (σεβαστοφάντης) Αδριάνειος a Prieſt of *Hadrian*, as Αδριάνειον a Temple built to his Memory, and Αδριάνεια, the Plays inſtituted to his Honour. I call him ἀρχισεβαλιώτης, the ſame with ἀρχισεβαλητὴς, which occurs in another *Inſcription, (or ἀντισεβαλιώτης for ἀντισεβαλητὴς, *Proprætore*) and have given him the Command of the Illyrian Legion, becauſe in after-times (and probably in the days of *Decius*) that Legion was

* *Reineſ. cl. VI. n.* 101.

deputed to lye in Garriſon at *Palmyra*, as ſays the *Notitia* of the Oriental Empire; *Sub Duce Phœnices Præfecturæ*, (or, as it is much better in the MS. *Præfectus*) *Legionis primæ Illyriciorum Palmyræ.*

Againſt my Opinion, that both the Inſcriptions concern the ſame Perſon, I have met with but one Objection; that in the one Marble he is called a Prieſt, in the other a Soldier, as if the Offices were incompatible: But the Anſwer to the Objection is very eaſy, ſince it was uſual in thoſe days for one and the ſame Perſon, to put on the Sacerdotal Habit, and the Military, (as there have been in all the later Ages of the Church Martial Biſhops and Prieſts) to omit the Emperors, who were for the moſt part Generals of their own Armies, and at the ſame time High-Prieſts; and to confine my ſelf to the College of Prieſts deputed to the Service of *Hadrian*: * *Lucius Ragonius* was a *Sodalis Hadrianalis*, & *Legatus Legionis* 13. *Geminæ*. † *Septimius Aper Octavius* is ſtiled *Sodalis Hadrianalis*, and *Sevir turmæ ſecundæ Equitum Romanorum*; and ‖ *M. Ælius Aurelius Cleo*, is

* *Grut.* XLV. 9.

†ccccxii.2.

‖ MXC.13.

is called *Sodalis Hadrianalis, & Tribunus militum, & Laticlavus Legionis* 12. *Fulminatricis.* To which I may add, that *Marc Antony* to ingratiate himſelf with *Auguſtus*, as *Appian* affirms, became one of the Prieſts of *Julius Cæſar*; and **Lucius Julius Bonatus* was the High-Prieſt of all the Temples in *Aſia*, and the General of the Forces of the *Lydians*. Other Inſtances of this kind frequently occur in the old Inſcriptions. *DLXV.4.

Nor is it a juſt Argument againſt my Emendation, that *Heliodorus* has many names, it not being unuſual for the ſame Perſon to have 4 or 5 names; *e.gr. Lucius Livius Sulpicius Galba, Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus, P. Licinius Pyæm. Priſcus Juventianus:* And among infinite other ſuch Examples, that in *Gruter* comes neareſt the *Palmyrene*; *L. P. Valerio Heliodoro Tr. Leg.* 2. *Adjutricis L. P. Valerius Chilo Filius ejus.* I ſhall only add, that there was an *Aurelius Heliodorus*, a Freedman of one of the *Cæſars*, whom *Gruter* mentions, but of which of the *Cæſars*, or whither the ſame *Heliodore* with the *Palmyrenian*, I cannot determine. DCVIII.7.

14.

· · υπίλιον Ουορώδην συγκλητικὸν καὶ βουλευτὴν Παλμυρηνὸν Βηλακαβοσαρσα τον φίλον τειμής χάριν ἔτους ΟΦ.

Rupilium Orodem Senatorem, & Duum-virum Palmyrenum Belacabus Arsacis filius amicum cultûs gratià honoravit, anno 570. h. e. Christi 258. Valeriani 4°.

Rupilius is a name that frequently occurs in the Books, and Marbles of the Ancients, and therefore I shall only mention *Rupilius Bonus*, whose Daughter *Rupilia Faustina* was the Grand-mother by the Father's side to the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus* the Philosopher,
P. 22. says *Capitolinus*; whither I have as happily rendred the name of *Rupilius Orodes*'s Friend, who honour'd him with the Inscription, (or whither it should be read Βηλας Σαβὼρ Αρσα, *Belas Saporis filius, Arsacis nepos*, or any other way) I think is not much material. The Titles of *Orodes* have been already considered.

15.

15.

Μαλεντον ϗ Αγρίππαν Ιαραίȣ τȣ̃ Ρααίȣ γραμματέα γενόμενον τὸ δεύτερον ἐπιδημίᾳ Θεȣ́ Αδριανȣ̃ ἄλιμμα παρασχόντα ξένοις τε ϗ πολείταις.

ενη · · · · ν ὑπηρετήσαντα τῇ τ · · · · · · · ςρά τευμα τȣ̃ · · · · ὑπὸ · · · · ηκαι · · · · · τὸν ναὸτὸν · · · · Διὸς · · · · ν τωτ · · · · · ·

Malech, qui & Agrippa, Jaræi fil. Raæi nep. ſecundò ſcribam (civitatis Palmyrenæ) in adventu Dei Hadriani, unguenta præbentem tam hoſpitibus, quàm incolis inſervientem exercitui, — & templum Jovis Beli (ornantem).

I have adventur'd to change the name *Malen*, which no where occurs, into *Malech*, (*N* and *X* being Letters of ſimilar ſhape, and make) which is a known, and common name among the *Syrians* and *Arabs*, among whom the Philoſopher *Porphyry* was call'd *Malchus*, *Malchus* the High-Prieſt's Servant was probably of that Country, and *Malech Podoſaces* was one of the Phylarchs of *Arabia*, when *Julian* the Apoſtate

Am. Marcellin. l. 24. c. 2.

ſtate Emperor made his Expedition againſt the Perſians: The Office of *Malech Agrippa* was very honourable; he was Secretary of State to the Republick of *Palmyra*, when *Hadrian* marcht into the Eaſt; *i. e.* in the 6th year of his Empire, *anno Chriſti* 122. ſays *Euſebius*. In which Expedition I am encouraged by the broken parts of the Inſcription, to believe he aſſiſted the Army with his Perſon, and Services; the Fragments being ſomewhat like part of the 7th Inſcription; that he was a Benefactor to his City and Country, appears from the grateful Memorial erected to his name; wherein mention is made of the Temple of *Jupiter Belus*, (ſo I have fill'd the Vacancy from another * Inſcription;) to which, I queſtion not but he had been a munificent Benefactor; perhaps he had been Sympoſiarch, as *Septimius Orodes* was afterwards. He alſo gave a Largeſs to the publick Baths at *Palmyra* of Oyl for all Perſons, who ſhould frequent thoſe *Bagnio's*, whether Strangers or Citizens; it being uſual among the Ancients to make ſuch Donations: So † *L. Cæcilius Cilo* gave to the People of *Como* by his Will,

* *N.* 8.

†*Gr.*376.5.

Will, Oyl for their Baths; ἄλειμμα, *unguentum*, ſays the old Gloſſary. For the Baths of every City were lookt upon not only as ornamental, but highly uſeful, and great Promoters of Health and Vigor; the building ſuch Structures is reckon'd among the nobleſt Acts of Magnificence in *Agrippa*, *Titus*, *Dioclesian*, *Conſtantine*, and others; the repairing of them when ruinous, eſteem'd a Princely Benefaction; ſome are celebrated for building *Gymnaſia*, or *Porticos*, others for floring the Apartments with Marble, a third ſort for bringing Water from a great diſtance for the Service of the *Bagnio*; and others made an allowance for the Oyl that ſhould be ſpent there in the *Gymnaſia* annext to the Bath; all which appears in the Inſcriptions of *Gruter*. To theſe Privileges ſometimes particular Perſons were admitted, or particular Sexes, mixt Bathings being expreſly prohibited, ſays *Lampridius*; in other places only the Freemen of the City, ſometimes even Servants were allowed to frequent the place and Foreigners: *C. Arunceius Cotta Colonis incolis, hoſpitibus adventoribus, ſerviſq; eorum lavationem ex ſua pecunia*

P. 180, 181. & paſs.

P. 181. 1.

Capitolin. Anton. p. 19 *pecunia gratuitam perpetuo dedit; & Antoninus Pius* gave the People liberty to uſe his own Bath *gratis.* To the Bath there commonly was annext a Racket-Court (*Spæriſterium*) as well as a P. 178. in 5. Bathing-place (*Diocleſian in ſphæriſterio nymfeum fieri curavit*) where thoſe, who frequented the Bagnio, gave themſelves their Heats, before they went into the Bath; ſo Martial,

Redde pilam, lonat æs thermarum; Ludere pergis?
Virgine vis ſolâ ſotus adire domum?

As alſo a *Gymnaſium*, or *Palæſtra*, where they wreſtled, and uſed other Exerciſes; L. 3. cap. 68 ſo the ſame Martial,

Gymnaſium thermæ ſtadium eſt ex parte, recede,
Exuimur, nudos parce videre viros.

In the Bagnio there were two other Apartments, the *Calidarium*, or Stove, and the *Tepidarium*, called *unguentarium, tepidarium unctuarium*, by *Pliny unctorium*, by *Julius Pollux* ἀλειπτήριον L. 7. c. 32. Sect. 2. (μέρος δὲ βαλανείου ἡ ἐσχάρα ἢ ἀλειπτήριον)

τήριον) into theſe the Wreſtlers and others went, when they had perform'd their Exerciſes: * *Theophraſtus* affirms, that the generality of the Wreſtlers, though healthy, had very ſtrong and nauſeous Sweats, (*Diotimus* the *Gymnaſiarch* divides them into three ſorts, according to the degrees of Exerciſe, and the ſeveral Changes made in the Body) and that if the Fueller made a ſtrong Fire all of the ſudden in the Stove, it cauſed a leſs Sweat; but if the Fire were encreaſt gradually, it was of more uſe. I ſhall not reckon up all the Officers of the Bagnio, (the *Fornacator*, the *Dendrophori*, *Aquarii*, *Pilicrepi*, &c.) but mention only the *Alipta*, whom *Cælius Aurelianus* calls *Unctor*, and ſo does the old Gloſſary, Ἀλείπτης, *Unctor*; who anointed the Wreſtlers; but this was the Office of an inferiour Servant, the Governour of the Bagnio was called the *Alipta*, ſays *Jul. Pollux*, ὁ ἐξεργικὸς (γυμνασίε, ἀποδυτηρίε, παλαίστρας) παιδοτρίβης τε καὶ γυμνασὴς, ὁ δὲ ἀλείπτης ἀδόκιμον; though the word was not allowed among the Ancients, being introduc'd by the Writers of the Midling Comedy, (οἱ μέσοι κωμικοὶ;) which is alſo acknowledg'd

* *De ſudoribus. p.* 455, 456, 459.

L. 3. *c. ult. & l.* 7. *c.* 3.

ledg'd by the Author of the *Etymologicum magnum*, who affirms, that inſtead of ἀλείπλης, the Antients uſed the word παιδοτρίβης: But in proceſs of time it was denizen'd; for the People of *Sparta* erected a Monument to *Gaius Rubrius Bianor* the *Aleiptes*, for his Gravity, according to the *Lacedemonian* Cuſtom, and for his Vertue in the *Gymnaſia*. But I cannot agree with the Tranſlator of another Inſcription, where ἀλειφόμενοι is rendred by *Aliptæ*, for the ἀλειφόμενοι were not the Governours of the *Gymnaſium*, but the παγκρατιασταὶ the Gentlemen, who perform'd their Exerciſes, and erected that Monument to *Bato* the *Gymnaſiarch*, or *Aliptes*: The Office was very honourable, for the *Gymnaſiarch* was often the High-Prieſt of the place for life, and honour'd with other conſiderable Preferments; and it was reckon'd among his nobleſt Titles, that he was Governour of the Imperial Bagnio. The Office of the *Gymnaſiarch* was annual, but it was often given for ſeveral years to the ſame Perſon, if he deſerv'd well of the Society; for then, beſides the Continuation in his Dignity, he was honour'd with a Crown of Gold,

Grut. 1090. 9.

327.

Grut. 313. 10. 316. 1.

Id. 327.

a

Statue, and Inſcriptions to perpetuate his Name and Merit.

When a Bath was built, it was uſual to give it a ſolemn Dedication: * So *Diocleſian* and *Maximian*, *Conſtantius* and *Galerius* Emperors, with *Severus* and *Maximian* Cæſars, conſecrated the Baths of *Diocleſian*, (and probably for this reaſon does the Hiſtorian aggravate the Cruelty of *Caracallus*, that he murder'd ſeveral People of all Conditions in the Baths) and ſome eminent Perſons were deputed Curators to ſuper-intend the Building, that it might not fall into ruine, nor its Revenues be alienated, or employ'd to wrong uſes. And ſuch care was taken, that every thing ſhould be kept in due repair, that though the Revenue hath been alienated for many Ages, yet the very Ruines of thoſe publick Buildings at *Rome* remain to this day very venerable.

* 178. 7.

Lamprid. p. 111. 112.

16.

At *Arſoffa*, in the Ruines of a noble Church, upon the Chapiters of ſeveral Marble Pillars, that ſupported the Body or Nave of the Church, is inſcrib'd the time of the Foundation of that ſacred Building,

Building, which is ſaid to have been erected when *Sergius* was Biſhop of the place.

† Ἐπὶ Σεργίου ἐπισκόπου τοῦ συγγενοῦς Μαρωνίου τοῦ χωρεπισκόπου.

Epiſcopo Sergio conſanguineo Maronii Chorepiſcopi.

Whither *Maron*, or *Maronius*, in the Inſcription, were the ſame with the Founder of the Sect of the *Maronites*, I cannot determine, nor whither the Church did belong to them; but it ſeems probable both from the name, and becauſe the *Maronites* chief Reſidence anciently, as now, was about Mount *Libanus*, and in the neighbouring places towards the *Euphrates*.

Διὶ ὑψίστῳ μεγίστῳ καὶ ἐπηκόῳ Βηλανὸς Ζηνοβίου τοῦ Αἰφάνου, τοῦ Μοκίμου, τοῦ Μάθθα ἐπιμελητὴς ὁ καὶ αἱρεθεὶς * Ερκας πηγῆς ὑπὸ Ιαρβώλου Θεοῦ τὸν βῶμον ἐξ ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν ἔτους ΔΟΥ μηνὸς Υπερβερεταίου κ'.

* *Leg.* Αφάκας.

Jovi

Jovi ſummo, maximo, & propitio Bolanus Zenobii filius, Airanis nepos, Mocimi pronepos. Matthæ abnepos, curator octavus electus fontis Aphacitidis ſub Jaribolo Deo, aram ſuis ſumptibus poſuit, anno 474. *menſis Octobris* 20. h. e. Chriſti 162. M. Aurelii Antonini 2°.

I have made the Emendation in the Inſcription (which Mr. *Halifax* confeſſes he is not overconfident, that it was rightly taken) upon the Authority of the ancient Writers, from whom we have unqueſtionable Evidence that the oracular Fountain, which the Men of *Palmyra* frequently conſulted, was called *Aphaca*, while of the name *Ephca* there are no footſteps, that I have met with, in Antiquity. I have already in brief, given the Hiſtory of the Fountain; to which I think fit to add, that the Worſhip of *Venus* in that place was very antient, that the Temple was very famous, that it ſtood upon the Banks of the River *Adonis*, on the ſide of Mount *Libanus*, and was of old very illuſtrious, and much honoured; that upon certain days, after the uſual forms of

P. 267, 268, *&c.*

Soz. Eccl. Hiſt. l. 2. *c.* 4

Invocation, a Fire deſcended from the top of Mount *Libanus*, like a Star, and after it had hover'd a while up and down in the Air, plung'd it ſelf at laſt into the River: The Inhabitants were of Opinion, that the Star was *Urania*, by which name they call *Venus*. To which the Hiſtorian adds, that the Temple was utterly deſtroy'd by the order of the Great *Conſtantine*, as *Euſebius* avers, and with them agrees *Socrates*; but it is certain, the Worſhip, and the Apparitions were continued (if we may credit *Zoſimus* and *Damaſcius*, two bigotted Zealots for Paganiſm;) for *Zoſimus* in his time, (he lived in the fifth Century) mentions the Deſcent of the Star at a certain time of the year, agreeable to what *Sozomen* records, and *Damaſcius* (who lived about a hundred years after *Zoſimus*) vouches for the Truth and Frequency of thoſe Apparitions in his time: It is therefore very probable, that the People of *Heliopolis* (as of *Emeſa*, and other parts of *Libaneſia*) being warm Favourers of the Heathen Rites, would not eaſily ſuffer themſelves to be weaned from their Idolatry; but repaired their Temple, and adorn'd it, though not

Hiſt. Eccl. l. 2. c. 18.

not with ſo great Pomp and Splendor; for though *Sozomen* ſays expreſly, that the Temple of *Venus* at *Heliopolis* was ruin'd by *Conſtantine*'s order, yet in the latter end of *Conſtantius*'s Reign, it was very famous again, ſaith the * old Geographer ſet out by *Gothofred*, and worſhipt with great Ceremony, (μεγαλιώως σέβουσι) it being the common Opinion of the Country, that *Venus* dwelt there; and through her Favour ſo order'd it, that the Woman of Mount *Libanus* were the faireſt of all the *Aſiaticks*, as they were to a Proverb, (*Socrates* ſays, that they held their Women in common, and proſtituted their Daughters to their Gueſts;) and I doubt not but under *Julian*, by whoſe Influences and Aſſiſtance dying Paganiſm began to recover ſome Strength and Vigour, the Temple alſo recovered its loſt Reputation; for it is paſt all diſpute, that the Temple at *Nacle*, was not utterly deſtroy'd till the days of *Mahomet*: So ſays *Abulfarajus*; for when he reckons up the ſeveral Idols of the old Gentile Arabs, which they worſhipt before that Impoſter appear'd in the World, he ſays, the Inhabitants of *Tha-*

* Ἐξήγ. ὅλου τοῦ κόσμ. §. 17. p. 14.

Pococ. Specim. Hiſt. Ar. p. 5. v. not. p. 90.

kif worſhipt a little Temple in the upper part of *Nachla*, which was called *Allat*, (or *Alilat*, *i. e.* the Moon, or *Venus*, as the Arabs calls her;) and *Abulfeda* avers, that the Idol was deſtroy'd and ruined, by the command of *Mahomet*, in the ninth year of the *Hegira*, *i.e.* in the year of Chriſt 631.

Near to the Temple of *Venus* at *Nacle*, was the Well *Aphaca* ſituate; ſo the *Caſtalian* Fountain at *Delphi*, ſtood near the Temple of *Apollo*, and another oracular Spring of that name in *Daphne* the Suburb of *Antioch*, roſe near the Temple of the ſame God; which from the times of *Seleucus*, who built both the City and the Temple, was very famous, till the Emperor *Adrian* fill'd the Well with ſtones, and ſtopt its Current: *Julian* open'd it again; but in a little time both Fountain and Temple were conſum'd by Lightning from Heaven. How thoſe Fountains gave their prophetick Anſwers, the ancient Writers are not agreed; ſome ſay the Enquirer wrote his Queſtion on a Lawrel-leaf, and threw it into the Fountain; in which, when he took it out, he found his Fate written; others, that by the different

V. Marm. Ox. p. 100.

different noiſe of the Waters, either he, who conſulted the Oracle, or the Prieſt, deputed to that Office, interpreted the Doom; while a third ſort affirm, that the Prieſt drank the Water, and having by that means imbibed the Dæmon, found himſelf fill'd with the Spirit of Prophecy, and inabled thereby to anſwer all Queſtions. How the Well *Aphaca* gave its Reſponſes, *Zoſimus* particularly relates; according to which Method the famous *Stygian*-water at *Boſtra* in *Arabia* unriddled Mens Deſtinies, which *Damaſcius* deſcribes as very terrible; for if the Dæmon were pleaſed, the lighteſt things thrown into it, would immediately ſink to the bottom; but if the Dæmon were angry, the biggeſt and moſt ponderous things ſwam on the top for a while, and at laſt were thrown out to the Admiration of the By-ſtanders. By this Well the Inhabitants uſed to ſwear; but if any one had been ſo hardy as to perjure himſelf, the Water that he drank cauſed a Dropſy in him within the year: Thus the Water of the Fountain * *Aſbamiæus*, near the Temple of *Jupiter* at *Tyana* was in taſte ſmooth, and ſweet to thoſe who were

Damaſc. apud. Phot. cod. 242.

* *Philoſtr. vit. Apoll. l.* 1. *c.* 4. *Am. Marcell. l.* 23. *c.* 26. *Ariſt.* π. θαυμασ. ἀκούσμ.

honeſt and juſt; but if any Man happen'd to run the hazard, when he intended to perjure himſelf, it affected his Eyes, his Hands and his Feet, and broke out upon him in Sores and Puſtules, and great Swellings; nor could he move from the Well, till he had confeſt'd himſelf forſworn: So that the Water was ordeal, like the Water of Jealouſy among the Jews, which to the Chaſte gave a Conception, but to the Unjuſt, and the Violators of the Marriage-Vow, cauſed the *Belly to ſwell, and the Thigh to rot.* Of the like kind were the Fountains in *Sicily*, called *Palici*, by which the People of the Iſland in caſes of the greateſt moment uſed to ſwear: He who took the Oath, wrote his Depoſition on a Table, which he threw into the Water; if he atteſted the truth, the Table ſwom on the top of the Waters; if he were perjur'd, it ſunk and diſappear'd, and the Evidence was in a burning heat.

Ariſtot. ubi ſup. c. 55. Sotion. de flumin ex Hizono.

Of the Fountain *Aphaca*, was *Bolanus* one of the Curators, or Overſeers, under the Inſpection of *Jaribolus* the God; who, I ſuppoſe, had here his Oracle, and gave Directions in the choice of the Officers

ficers belonging to it, as well as Teſtimonials to thoſe, who had diſcharg'd their Province with Honour. *Jaribolus* was doubleſs one of the Θεοὶ πάρεδροι, or σώθεροι, of that part of *Syria*, probably of the Moon, *i. e. Venus*, as *Alagbelus* and *Malachbelus* were Aſſeſſors of the Sun, (the Signification of the name implies it בעל ירח;) ſo the *Egyptians* deputed *Sigaleon* to be the *Parhedrus* to *Sarapis*, the Greeks *Attis* to the Mother of the Gods, *Erichthonius* to *Minerva*, *Virbius* to *Diana*, *Hygeia* and *Teleſphorus* to *Eſculapius*, *Tychon* to the Moon, and to *Venus Adonis*; and 'tis not the moſt improbable of Conjectures, that he, whom the Greeks called *Adonis*, the Syrians might ſtile *Jaribolus*, (as well as the Egyptians *Tammuz*) *Baal* and *Adonai* being both equivalent names of Power and Sovereignty. And in after Ages, when Emperors and others were allowed a ſolemn Conſecration, they alſo were honour'd with the Title of Collateral Judges to *Jupiter*, whoſe πάρεδροι were in the eſteem of the Heathen World, the twelve greater Gods; for when *Alexander the Great* was to be deify'd, he was call'd *V. Salm. in H.A. Scrip. p.* 38.

by *Demades*, the 13th of that Society; and when *Alexander*, while alive, was reſolv'd to give his Darling *Hephæſtion* a Deification, the Greeks in Vain-flattery and Compliance ſacrificed to him as an Aſſeſſor of the Gods, (ἕθυον παρέδρῳ καὶ ἀλεξικάκῳ Θεῷ) and they intitled him to Apparitions, to Prophecies and Dreams, ſays *Lucian*, (and for this reaſon I ſuppoſe * *Euſebius* joins ὀνειροπομπὰς καὶ παρέδρους δαιμονας together, when he ſpeaks of the Gnoſticks:) This Pageantry of Canonization was acted over again by the Emperor *Adrian*, to omit other Inſtances, when he Deify'd his Pathic *Antinous*, the Greeks of that Age attributing to him ſuch Oracles as *Hadrian* himſelf had compoſed, ſays † *Capitolinus*: To the Memory of that *Catamite* the Emperor built a City in *Ægypt* called by his name, *Antinoopolis*; there he buried him, and there eſpecially (though the Worſhip prevail'd elſewhere) he appointed him a Temple, Prieſts and Prophets, (καὶ πόλιν ἔκτισαν ἐπώνυμον Αντινόου, καὶ προφήτας, ſays ‖ *Hegeſippus*) of which number was *M. Ulpius Apollonius* it * *Gruter*, and perhaps † *Onias*, who ſtiles himſelf

Lucian.non. temer.cred. calumn.

* *H. E.* l. 4. c. 7.

† *P.* 7.

‖ *Apud Euſeb. l.*4.c.8.

* 86. 1.

† 326. 1.

himſelf the High-Prieſt, and Prophet in another Inſcription, for that he was of *Ægypt*, his name convinces me: It muſt be conſeſt, that in *Egypt* the moſt eminent Prieſt was called the Prophet, ſays *Clemens* of *Alexandria*; but probably for this reaſon, becauſe they all pretended to the Spirit of Prophecy, eſpecially where there was an Oracle, as there was at *Antinoopolis*; and the Faculty of Prediction deſcended often from Father to Son, as well as the Prieſthood, (which among the Greeks as well as the Jews, was often fixt to a Family;) for which reaſon *T. Porcius* is ſtiled the Son of *Proclus Ælianus*, a *moſt illuſtrious Perſon, and a Prophet* in an old * Inſcription; for among the Prieſts of *Iſis*, (and probably among thoſe devoted to any other Deity,) ἐπεὰν δὲ ἀποθάνῃ τὸτῳ παῖς ἀντικαθίσαλαι, ſays *Herodotus* †; if the Father happen'd to die, the Son ſucceeded him. The Habit of theſe Prophets, ſays ‖ *Herodian*, was a Veſt, or Caſſock, reaching down to the Feet, with long Sleeves; and in the middle of the Veſt a ſtripe of Purple, their Shoes being made of Linen: This, ſays the Hiſtorian, was the Habit

* *Grut.* 458. 1.

† *Lib.* 2. *V. Heliodor. l.* 1.

‖ *Lib.* 5.

bit of the Prieſts of *Phœnicia* and *Syria*. Such an Oracle as this I am inclined to attribute to *Jaribolus*, (either at *Nacle*, or at *Palmyra*) from whence the People derived their Predictions of what was to come, and their Teſtimonials of what was paſt; and perhaps the Oracle gave its Anſwers at the ſolemn Meetings, when great numbers of the People of the Country came to the Fountain; for that there were ſuch (συνόδοι) Conventions at ſtated times, *Zoſimus* affirms expreſly; at which their Games were celebrated, (as the *Agon Gymnicus* call'd * Ανλινόειος, was perform'd in honour of the Darling of *Adrian*) there being particular Officers deputed to that Service; the chief of which was the High-Prieſt, (the *Archiereus*, or *Primus Sacerdos ſynhodi*, πρῶτος συνόδου, as he is ſtiled in the Inſcriptions) and under him the Curators, or Ἐπιμεληταὶ, of which number *Bolanus* was one at *Aphaca*, (for that I ſuppoſe to be the name of the Well, as *Eros* and *Anteros* were the names of two Fountains at *Gadara*, *Asbamiæus*, *Caſtalius*, &c. elſewhere.) In a famous Inſcription in *Gruter*, the Maſters or Gover-

* *Hegeſ. ub. ſub.*

† 318. 3. 330. 3.

179. 6. v. & 180. 1.

Governours of the *Fons Palatinus*, are reckon'd up, of whom ſome were firſt admitted to the Honour in that year when *Octavius Lenas*, and *M. Antonius Rufinus* were Conſuls; others had born the Office a ſecond time, ſome a third or fourth; and they are diſtinguiſht from the inferior Officers, (their *Miniſtri*) of whom alſo ſome had done the Service a ſecond, others a third year. In that Marble the number of Governors is eleven, but in the next Inſcription the Governours of the *Fons Lollianus* are but ten.

In this Inſcription *Jupiter* is not only ſtiled *Optimus Maximus*, but *Propitius* ἐπήκοος, as an Acknowledgment of his Favours; ſo *Iſis* and *Diana* are called ἐπήκοοι in other * Inſcriptions.

* 40. 10. 73. 1.

18.

Διὶ μεγίστῳ κεραυνίῳ ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας Τρα. Αδριανοῦ σεβ · · · τοῦ κυρίου Αγάθάγγελος Αβιληνὸς τῆς Δεκαπόλεως τὴν καμάραν ὠκοδόμησεν καὶ τὴν κλιν · · ἐξ ἰδίων ἀνεθηκεν, ἔτους ΕΜΥ μηνὸς Λώου.

Jovi

Jovi maximo fulminanti pro ſalute Trajani Hadriani Domini ſui Agathangelus Abilenus Decapolites camaram ædificavit, & lectiſternium propriis ſumptibus poſuit. Anno 445. *menſe Auguſto*; h. e. Chriſti 133. Hadrian 17.

This Marble was found at *Tieve* near three days Journey from *Palmyra*, in the Wall of a *Moſque*, which probably was the old Temple of *Jupiter the Thunderer*, (who in other Inſcriptions is ſometimes ſtiled *bronton*, *fulgurans*, *tonans*, *fulgerator*, &c.) in which *Agathangelus* erected a *Cupola*, and a Bed of State to the Honour of the God, and for the Safety or Recovery of his Prince. The name *Agathangelus* occurs elſewhere, (*Cn. Coſſutius Agathangelus* in * 644. 1. *Gruter*;) ours is ſaid to have been an Inhabitant of *Abila*, but at the ſame time a *Decapolitan*, which will no longer ſeem a Difficulty, if we remember L. 5. c. 18. that not only *Pliny* avers, that the Geographers were not agreed, what particular Cities conſtituted the *Decapolitan* Region of *Syria*, though all conteſt the name

name to have been impos'd from the number of the Cities, and that the *Tetrarches* of *Trachonitis*, and *Paneas*, that *Abila* and *Arca*, &c. do intermix with, and encircle that Region; but that *Ptolome* in expreſs words (if we may credit the *Palatine* MSS.) treating of the Cities of *Syriæ Cœle*, among which he principally names *Heliopolis*, *Abila Lyſaniæ*, &c. calls them Cities of *Decapolis*; ſo that *Agathangelus* as to his City was an Inhabitant of *Abila*, but of the Province or Region of *Decapolis*.

Agathangelus was a very Loyal Subject, though he lived at a great diſtance from the Court; and for the Safety of his Prince built a *Cupola*, and ſet up a Bed of State under it to *Jupiter*, καμάρα, *formix teſtudo*, in the old Gloſſaries: καμαρία κοιτὼν καμάρας ἔχων in *Heſychius*. The antient Baths were ſo adorn'd, ſays *Pliny*, (*feneſtras è regione conditor binas confinio cameræ pendentis admovit, ut ſuſcipientium uſui fabrefactum lacunar aperiret*;) and the *Stadia*, or *Palæſtræ*, (for in one of them *P. Licinius Priſcus* built a *Piazza*, with ſeveral *Cupolás*, σὺν κεκαμαρωμένοις δίκοις Lib. 2. Ep. 2.

οἴκοις ἢ προσκοσμήμασιν;) ſometimes the Tombs: * So the Tomb of *Nilus* the *Oeconomus* of *Aſia* was adorn'd; but particularly Temples and Churches: So when *Juſtinian* the Emperor new built the *Trullus* of the Church of *Sancta Sophia*, and enlarg'd it thirty feet in Circumference, he added two *Cupola's* to it, one toward the North, the other to the South, (τὰς δύο καμάρας) which continue to this day. Thus *Auguſtus* ſays of himſelf in the *Ancyran* Marble, *Pulvinar ad circum maximum, ædes in Capitolio fici*; and *Tully* of *M. Antony*, who was one of the Prieſts of *Julius*, *Nec majorem honorem Cæſar conſecutus eſt ab Antonio, quam ut haberet pulvinar, ſimulachrum, faſtigium.* Some Authors ſay, that the *Tholus*, *Cupola*, was a place in the middle of the *Camera* of the Temple, in which thoſe who made Vows hung up their Offerings; others that the *Camera* was above the *Cupola*, like our Lanterns, (ſo ſays *Philander*;) others, that the *Camera* was no other than the *Cupola* it ſelf, which being leſſen'd by degrees, ended in a point. The *Lectiſternia* are deſcrib'd by † *Arnobius*;

* *Oxon. Marm. n.* 79.

Philip. 2.

V. Guther. jur. Pontif. l. 3. *c.* 9.

† *L.* 7.

nobius ; habent enim Dij Lectos, atq; ut ſtratis poſſint mollioribus incubare pulvinorum tollitur atq; excitatur impreſſio. The Pagan Devotion inclining them to think, that their Gods ought not to want any thing conducive to their Eaſe and Satisfaction. *Heſyc.* κλίνη, κραββατος, *Gloſſar. vet. pulvinar* προσκεφάλαιον.

Agathangelus built his *Camera*, and furniſht it with a Bed, to fulfil a Vow he had made for the Welfare of his Prince ; ſuch Vows commonly occur *V. Gruter.* in the old Inſcriptions, ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας, καὶ διαμονῆς τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοκράτορος ; *pro ſalute & gloriâ, pro ſalute itûs ac reditûs Imperatoris, pro ſalute Imp. totiúſq; domûs divinæ, pro ſalute, & incolumitate domûs divinæ, pro ſalute, & gloriâ, pro æternitate Imperii, & ſalute Imperatoris.* Sometimes they vow'd the Building a new Temple, or the Repairing an old one, ſometimes the Adorning a Temple with Pillars and Chapiters, with Porches, or *Cupola's* ; at other times the Offering of ſolemn and pompous Sacrifices, (ſo *C. Betonius* the firſt Prieſt of the Emperors, offer'd the

Tauro-

XXIX. 12. *Tauropolium* of the whole Province of *Narbonne*, for the Safety of *Septimius Severus*, and *M. Aurelius Antoninus Caracallus* his Son, for ſo the Inſcription muſt be read, *M. Aurel. Ant.* not *M. Aureliani*, for what hath the Emperor *Aurelian* to do with *Septimius Severus?*) and ſome Romans were ſo over officious, that, when their Prince was ſick, in expectancy of a great Reward, they devoted themſelves to Death, (ἀντήψυχοι) ſo the Emperor might recover. So when *Caius Caligula* fell into a dangerous Diſtemper, *P. Afranius Potitus*, a *Plebeian*, bound himſelf by an Oath, that himſelf would die, if *Caligula* might be cured; and *Atanius Secundus*, a Man of the Equeſtrian Dignity, promis'd to fight among the Gladiators for the ſame reaſon: And the Emperor was ſo ſenſible of the Flattery, that he compell'd them both to be as good as their Promiſes. We may adjuſt the Time of this Inſcription by the Date; ſince the Coins inform us, that *ann.* 132. the 16th of *Hadrian*, the Senate and People of *Rome* made Vows for his Health, (*Senatus populúſq; vota ſuſcipta.*

Dio. l. 59. p. 645.

cepta. Vota publica. Vota publica, S. c.) the ſame Perſons in the year following paying their Thanks to *Jupiter* for his Recovery, (*Jupiter cuſtos. Jovi cuſtodi, S. c.*) to this *Jupiter* on the ſame occaſion, *Agathangelus* in *Syria*, made his Vows, ſome months after the Romans had made theirs; the diſtance from *Italy* to that part of *Aſia* upon the *Euphrates*, being to be allowed for.

19.

The next Inſcription is ſingular as to its Language, and I ſhall endeavour to fill up the void ſpaces thus.

Conſervatores orbis, & Propagatores generis humani D. D. N. N. Dioclefianus, & Maximianus Invictiſſimi Imperatores; & Conſtantius & Maximianus. Nobiles Cæſares Caſtra fæliciter condiderunt

· · ntes Caſſiano Hieroclete Viro probo Præſide provinciæ Devoti Numini Majeſtatiq; eorum.

I have inſerted the name of *Maximinus*, (*Herculius*) becauſe he was at that time the ſole Co-partner of the Empire with *Diocleſian*: I call them *Conſervatores orbis*, and *invictiſſimi*, from their Coins; and I have chang'd the *Prænomen* of *Hierocles* into *Caſſianus*, which is well known to be Roman, while *Oſſianus* no where occurs; the time when the Marble was erected has
*P.*148,149 been already adjuſted; for then *Diocleſian* built ſeveral Caſtles upon the *Euphrates*, or rather then he built the *Caſtr Cairceſia*; for tho' it was a Frontier Caſtle before that time, (*Gordian*, when ſlain by *Philip*, having been buried
*L.*23. *c.* 5. there, as *Capitolinus* avers, though *Am. Marcellinus*, who had been at the place, ſays his Tomb was not at *Circeſium*, but at *Zaitha* ſeven miles from it: *Zoſimus* ſays it was at *Dura*, *Eutropius* and *Rufus* twenty miles from *Circeſium*;) yet it was ſo poor and weak a place, ſays *Ammianus*, till *Diocleſian* fortified it with ſtrong Walls and Towers, that for that reaſon he may be with juſtice ſaid to have built the Caſtle, as thoſe who have

have beautified decay'd Cities, are commonly ſtiled by the Greeks (κτιςαί) the Founders of thoſe Places.

20.

In the ruines of *Briadeen*, the following Inſcription was found.

Αφιερώθη Αθη Λινδίȣ τȣ̃ ΑΜΦ ἔτȣς διὰ Ματέρνȣ ϗ Πάππȣ ϗ Μάικȣ κνετμν.

It ſeems to have been inſcrib'd on an Altar, or ſome Pillar of a Temple dedicated to *Minerva Lindia*, for ſo I would correct and read it;

Αφιερώθη Αθη. Λινδίῳ τȣ̃ ΑΜΦ ἔτȣς διὰ Ματέρνȣ, ϗ Πάππȣ ϗ Μάρκȣ εἰς τειμήν.

Conſecratum fuit Minervæ Lindiæ à Materno, & Pappo, & Marco in honorem, (Deæ.) Anno 541. h. e. 229. Chriſti. Alexandri Severi 8.

That *Alexander Severus* was the Darling of the East, no Man will doubt, who conſiders that he was not only born in *Syria*, but had made a victorious Expedition into *Perſia* to ſecure the Quiet of his Native Country; and that for his illuſtrious Qualities he was deify'd in *Libaneſia* and *Palmyrene*, as well as at *Rome*. In his Reign was the Inſcription ſet up at *Briadeen* (poſſibly to fulfil a Vow for his Preſervation) in honour of *Minerva Lindia*. *Lindus* is *Rhodes*, ſays *Suidas* *, the name both of the Iſland and City, where *Minerva* was worſhipt with an extraordinary Devotion, the Inhabitants ſacrificing to her every day, and every day making a Feaſt in her Temple. *Conon* tells us, that the *Phœnicians* having poſſeſt themſelves of *Rhodes*, were driven out by the *Carians*; and that the *Dorians*, under the Conduct of *Althæmenes*, diſpoſeſt the *Carians*, and built three Cities in the Iſland, *Lindus*, *Jalyſus*, and *Camirus*, which at laſt became one great City, called *Rhodes* after the name of

* V. Ροδος. & Ροδίων χρησμός.

Narrat. 47.

of the Iſland: And * *Apollodorus* affirms, * L. 2. c. 1.
that *Danaus* having by the help of his Daughters, murther'd the Sons of his Brother *Ægyptus*, being his own Sons in Law, built a Ship by the advice of *Minerva*, in which himſelf and Daughters fled out of *Ægypt* to *Rhodes*, where he dedicated the Image of *Minerva Lindia*. *Minerva*, ſays † *Hyginus*, built † Fab. 277.
the Ship for *Danaus*, the firſt of the kind that ever was ſeen in *Greece*, ſays || *Pliny*: This Voyage of *Danaus*, com- || 7. 46.
menc't when *Erichthon* was King at *Athens*, ſays the noble Collection of *Epocha's* in the * *Oxford* Marble, that * n. 9.
his Daughters *Amymone*, *Helice*, and *Archedice*, being choſen by lot by the other Siſters, built the Temple upon the Shoar in the Maritime City of *Rhodes*, call'd *Lindus*; which, ſays † *Strabo*, was ſituate toward the South, † L. 14.
eſpecially toward *Alexandria*: For in p. 655.
that City, as || *Diodorus Siculus* affirms, || L. 5. p. 227.
he was hoſpitably received, and therefore built the Temple, and conſecrated the Statue; there he loſt three of his Daughters, who died of the Peſtilence,

which then raged at *Lindus*, the rest sailed with their Father to *Argos*. The same Historian adds, that *Cadmus* not long after offer'd several Gifts in that Temple, among which was a Brass Vessel made *à l' antique*, with an Inscription in *Phœnician* Characters. But if we may believe the noble Marble, *Cadmus* sailed to *Thebes* eight years before *Danaus* left *Ægypt*; so that that part of the Story is a Parachronism in *Diodorus*. A long time after *Danaus*'s Death, *Amasis* the King of *Ægypt* presented the same *Minerva* of *Lindus* with two Statues of Stone, and with a Linen Breast-plate of admirable Work, (*Thoraces linei* being very usual among the ancient Captains, as * *Ferrarius* unquestionably proves, and *Minerva* was a warlike Goddess, it was somewhat like our Silkarmors) because his Country-women built that Temple: Which, *Strabo* says, was in his time very illustrious, and much frequented. Nor was she honour'd only in that Country, but in *Syria*, if we may credit the Inscription. In which I have put Μάρκος for Μαι-

Herod. l. 2. c. 102.

* *Part. 2. l. 4. c. 11.*

κος,

κΘ, though perhaps it ſhould be *Malchus*. *Heſyc.* ἀριέρωσε, τῷ θεῷ ἀνέθηκεν, 98. 7.
καθιέρωσεν, in *Gruter*.

21.

At *Andreen*, which lies between *Briadeen* and *Aleppo*, among the Ruines of an ancient Church, were found ſome broken Inſcriptions, the Remains of the Devotions of the Chriſtians of former Ages.

Εὐξάμενος ἐγὼ Ἰωάννης ἐπέτυχα — καὶ εὐχαριςῶν τῷ Θεῷ πρισ — ἕνεκα ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν μου . . . .

Ego Johannes precatus Deum aſſecutus ſum, (quod petii) & gratias agens Deo (votum ſolvi ut peccatis meis (ſit propitius.)

Over the Southern Door was written,

Αὕτη ἡ πύλη τῶ κυρίω δικαιοι εἰσελεύσονται ἐν αὐτῇ.

Porta hæc Domini justificat intrantes per illam.

Over the Western Door, which I would read,

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{X.}\Theta\text{.M}\Gamma\text{.A.} \\ \chi\varrho\iota\varsigma\tilde{\omega}\ \Theta\varepsilon\tilde{\omega} \end{array} \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{X} \\ \Theta\ \text{M}\ \Gamma \\ \Gamma \end{array} \right) \mu\varepsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}\varsigma\varphi\ \acute{\alpha}\varrho\acute{\iota}\varsigma\varphi :$$

Christo Deo optimo Maximo.

These Inscriptions do not need a Commentary, since nothing difficult occurs in them; but they cannot but raise a deep Commiseration in all Christians to see so many venerable Remains of the ancient Piety either converted into Mosques, or buried in their own Ruines: No Churches having in past times been more illustrious for Religion, and good Letters, than the Oriental, in which at this time there are but some few footsteps of either, the rest being over-run with Barbarism and Infidelity.

The next broken Inscription is also undoubtedly Christian, (as those where-

in

in Θεὸς Ιακωβ, and Ευσεβιᾳ appear;) and, I ſuppoſe, contain'd the names of the eminent Angels *Uriel, Raphael, Gabriel, Michael,* (and perhaps the former Inſcription may be thus rendred, χρισὸς Θεοτόκᾳ, Μιχὰηλ, Γαβριὴλ, Ραφαὴλ, according to the form of a ſimilar *Epigraphe* in *Gruter*;) for it was not unuſual to affix the names of thoſe holy Angels upon the Chriſtian Tombs, out of opinion to engage them to be Guardians of the Sepulchre (as the modern Pretenders to converſe with Spirits, inſcribe their names uſually on their Utenſils;) ſo in the Tomb of *Mary* the Wife of the Emperor *Honorius*, on a Plate, were written theſe names; *Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel.* 1048. 2. *Id.* 287. 4.

I have now done with the Monuments of this once famous Country; and, becauſe there is in every Man an innate Deſire of living after he hath left this World, though all Men do not believe there is another; and that they deſire, when they are dead, to be remembred, and well ſpoken of, that their Actions may not be confin'd to the ſame Grave with their Carcaſſes; I ſhall conclude

clude with the wiſe Saying of the Roman Orator, That whenever we ſee ſuch Remains of venerable Antiquity, ſuch laſting Records of the names, and Atchievements of great Perſons, we are admoniſht to take care ſo to regulate our Actions, that we may convince the World we have ſettled our proſpect upon the Rewards of Future Ages, and not on the Flatteries of the Preſent; and to remember, that Monuments being erected to the Memory of thoſe, who have lived well in this World before they left it, put us in mind, that there is nothing here permanent, and immutable, and that 'tis the Duty of conſidering Men to aſpire towards Immortality.

A ſhort Chronicle *of* Palmyra.

Anno Per. Jul. 3720. *Mund.* 3010. *Palmyra*, built by *Solomon* after he had finiſht the Temple, and his own Houſe, which were 20 years in building.

P. J. 4125. *M.* 3415. *Palmyra* deſtroyed by *Nebuchadnezzar*, before he laid Siege to *Jeruſalem.*

P. J. 4673. *M.* 3963. *V. C. Varr.* 713. *ante Chriſt.* 41. *Marc. Antony*, after the Battel of *Philippi*, went into *Aſia*, and ſent his Troops to pillage *Palmyra.*

Au. Chriſti 122. *Hadrian, an. Imp.* 6. went into the Eaſt, rebuilt (probably) *Palmyra*, and call'd it *Hadrianople*, when *Malech Agrippa* was the ſecond time Secretary of that City.

Palmyra

circ. 216.	*Palmyra* made a Roman Colony by the Emperor *Caracallus*, in his Expedition into *Parthia.*
227.	The Republick of *Palmyra* aſſiſted *Alexander Severus* againſt *Artaxerxes* King of *Perſia*, *Zenobius* being their General.
$24\frac{3}{3}$.	The Republick aſſiſted *Gordian* againſt the *Perſians*, *Zenobius* being their General.
260.	*Valerian* was taken Priſoner by *Sapores* King of *Perſia.*
264.	*Odenathus* routed the *Perſians*, and was declared Emperor by *Gallienus.*
267.	*Odenathus*, with his Son *Herodian*, ſlain by *Mæonius*. *Mæonius*, the Ephemerous Emperor of *Palmyra*, ſlain a few days after; then *Zenobia* aſſumes the Empire in her own name, and her Sons.

Zenobia

267.	*Zenobia* routed *Heraclianus*, *Gallienus*'s General. *Vaballathus* took the Empire.—*Gallienus* ſlain.
268.	*Claudius* choſen Emperor.
270.	*Zenobia* conquer'd *Ægypt* by her General *Zabdas*.
	Claudius died. *Quintillus* reigned 16 days. *Aurelian* in the later end of the year was choſen Emperor.
272.	*Palmyra* taken, and ruin'd by *Aurelian*, and *Longinus* ſlain; *an.* 5 of *Vaballathus*.
213.	*Zenobia* carried in triumph at *Rome*.
298.	*Hierocles*, Governor of *Palmyrene* under *Diocleſian*.
527.	*Juſtinian* in the firſt year of his Reign, repaired and fortified *Palmyra*.

Palmyra

632.	*Palmyra* was ſubjected by the Mahometans, *Jabala* the Son of *Al Iham* being then Lord of *Tadhmur*, and King of *Gaſſan*.
659.	The Battel of *Tadhmur* between *Dahacus* and *Adis*.
746.	*Suleiman* the *Pſeudo-Caliph*, beaten by *Merwan*, fled to *Tadhmur*.
1172.	*Benjamin* in *Tudelenſis* was at *Tadhmur*.
1678.	*Melham*, the *Emîr*, or Prince of *Tadhmur*, when the Engliſh Merchants made their firſt Journey thither.
1691.	*Haſſine* the *Emîr*, when the Engliſh Merchants went thither the ſecond time.
1693.	*Dôr* the *Emîr* of *Tadhmur*.

Additions and Emendations.

Page 193. add after *Sociam*. *Nasorus* is the same name with *Nasir*, *Abunasir*, *Abdolnasir*, *Nasireddin*, which frequently occur in the Saracenick History. As does *Amrus* in the same History, and in the Catalogue of the Kings of *Gessan*, in our Learned *Pocock*, *Sochaeis* the same with *Sychæus* the Husband of *Dido*. *Sampsus*, &c. p. 240. l. 6. after Harpocration, add, *tho' the* φυχαρχῶν *was probably the chief Magistrate, or Decurio at* Ancyra.

P. 301. l. 3. after *Grammar* add, *perhaps for* αὐτῷ *we should read* αὐτοῖς, (tho' Mr. *H.* positively avers, that it was written αὐτῷ in the Monument,) and then *Elabelus*, *Mannæus*, *Sochaeis*, and *Malchus*, being all the Sons of *Vaballathus*, Grand Sons of *Mannæus*, Great-grand Sons of *Elabelus*, set up that Monnment for themselves, and their Children; or rather (to assert the true reading) erected that Tomb (αὐτῷ) to their Father *Vaballathus*, (καὶ υἱοῖς) and to themselves, (and others, if there were any) his Children. This is one of the oldest Inscriptions at *Palmyra*, erected *anno Christi* 102. the 5th of the Reign of the Emperor *Trajan*, *Palma* his Governor of *Syria* having some few years before reduc'd that part of *Arabia* under the Roman Power, says *Dio. l.* 68. which Age no other Monument exceeds.

Besides Misaccentings, wrong Pointings, misplacing of Letters, and other little Faults, the Reader is desired, before he enters upon the Book, to correct the following

ERRATA.

PAge 8. l. 17. *preserve*. P. 17. dele ἱερὸν πραιτώριον. P. 20. l. 14. del. *M.* l. 26. r. *Nice*. p. 22. l. 21. *when*. p. 28. l. 6. *a State*. p. 35. l. 12. r. *happen'd to fall sick*. l. 21. 22. r. *for in the seventeenth year of his Reign*. p. 36. l. 3. r. *who, living some years after, languisht*. p. 48. Marg. *Petri*. p. 55. l. 15. f. *for* r. *but*. p. 58. l. 3. del. *he*. p. 59. r. *an*. 264. p. 62. l. 9. *enraged*. p. 72. l. 2. r. *after which an*. 268. p. 73. for *probably* r. *doubtless*. p. 86. del. *the Marg*. Note, *and insert it* p. 87. p. 118 l. 6. r. *Marcellinus*. l. 8. *in the first year*. p. 121. *ch*. XXVII. p. 131. l. 11. r. *declar'd his Partner in the Empire*. p. 139. *Cænophrurium*.

p. 140.

p. 140. del. *in all probability*. p. 149. l. 5. r. *washt*. p. 166. l. 17. del. *A*. p. 193. γραμματεὺς. p. 196. *Heraclas*. 201. *Julius*. 219. ἀναγινώσκων. ib. δεύτερον. 221. l. 26. γραμματεύς. 238. ἀναγεγραμμένον. l. 12. *brought*. p. 239. l. 14. r. *five*. 248. l. 16. del. *Jaribolus, and*. p. 249. l. 26. εἷς ἥλιος. 251. l. 12. r. *Xiphiline*, and del. the Marg. Note. p. 254. l. 2. *the Emp. married* Urania *to his Country God* Elagabalus, *the Moon being the fittest Wife for the Sun*. 263. l. 29. *Grandmother*. p. 270. Marg. *de Deâ Syr. ed. ult*. 293. l. 6. *transcribe*. 299. l. 4. τοῦ. 302. l. 13. *fifth*. ib. Πάνυ. and *Pani*. l. 17. *Chr*. 138. p. 304. Marg. l. 2. *chil*. 310. l. 9. ἱερῦ. 311. *calls him*. 312. r. *the same year*, viz. *the 4th of* Alex. 313. l. 22. r. 226. p. 317. l. 3. *commanding, and assisting*. 325. *Emesa*. 332. l. 2. *Person*. 345. ναὸν τὸν. 348. *Sonat*. ib *lotus*. 350. l. 27. *and then*. 353. l. 7. *Anton. tertio*. 360. *l. pen. in Gr*. 364. l. 15. del. *and*. 365. *Tetrarchies*. ib. *Syria*. ib. *fornix*. p. 366. *feci*.

FINIS.